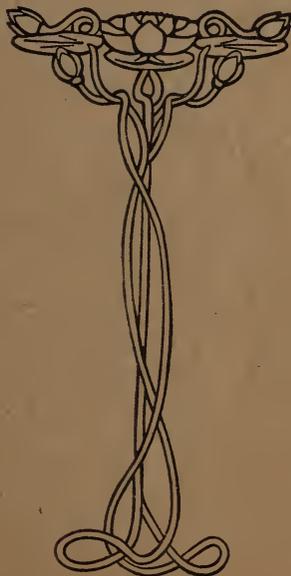


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What Henry Ford Is Doing

By FRANK BONVILLE



[Electric Railway Service, Feb. 23, 1917.]

. Brother Evening News, in the following few quotations,

You lay great labored stress upon the gross profits of the Detroit United Railway for 1916. . . . Did the News make any similar use of its 1916 profits? . . .

What is your honest judgment when scanning the milk in your nut—that is, the scores and scores of columns of advertising matter appearing daily—as to the value of this advertising to the people compared to the value they receive daily in the use of our street cars?

Do you suppose the people are so silly as not to know their way to the grocery and the butcher shop and the dry goods store without contributing to you many hundreds of dollars every year to tell them the way?

Were this advertising expense cut out would they not be economically just that many hundreds of thousands of dollars to the good?

Is not this advertising business in the main pure “bunk”?

Would you mind telling the common people how much you got out of it last year?

And what you did with the money?

FEB 10 1921

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What Henry Ford Is Doing



By **FRANK BONVILLE**

The price of this book is \$1.00 paper bound, cloth bound \$1.50, leather bound \$3.00. Handled strictly by mail order, not handled by news dealers. There is no reduction on the prices given above under 1,000 copies. We pay postage or express to all parts of the world. No rights or concessions such as territory are granted to agents. We mention this to avoid unnecessary inquiry. None of our representatives throughout the country is authorized to collect any amount over \$25.00 in cash. The balance may be accepted by them in the form of drafts or express money orders or postoffice money orders. Make out all drafts and postoffice money orders to Frank Bonville, Seattle, Washington.

Checks are not accepted.

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FRANK BONVILLE IN 1917, 1920, 1921



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BUREAU OF INFORMATION,

Postoffice Box 432

Seattle, Washington

CT275
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1921

AN EXPLANATION

The public is entitled to some explanation concerning my reason for entitling the book "WHAT HENRY FORD IS DOING" and why it was advisable to print the quotations of well-known men and women, some of them being from years back.

The readers are given an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the predictions as outlined in many of the quotations, thus enabling them to reason out for themselves whether or not they were practical. This also applies to various quotations from numerous papers and magazines.

It is my purpose to familiarize the people with the stand taken by Mr. Ford before and after the World War, thereby placing them in a position to judge as to the soundness of his philosophy. We have printed more details and facts regarding Mr. Ford than of any other individual and therefore deem it good logic to entitle the book as above mentioned.

I discovered during my investigation, which covered fifty thousand miles and lasted a period of three and a half years, that Mr. Ford was misunderstood by a large percentage of the working class, this being the natural result of misleading propaganda circulated over the country through the subsidized press. He was also misunderstood by his representatives and stockholders in the company at that time, referring to the years of 1916-17, which was easily comprehended during the Ford and Dodge trial in Detroit, Michigan, which I attended. I found among a percentage of his close business associates that many of them were directly opposed to his principles and did all in their power to hinder the progress of the great work he has in mind. Whether this was done intentionally or not I am not prepared to say.

It would take a book of several thousand pages to do justice to my investigation and the experiences encountered at the Ford Plant, the Ford and Dodge trial, and numerous other large gatherings of workers, and to counteract the falsehoods and misrepresentations concerning Henry Ford which have been propagated, and also concerning the Industrial Workers of the World, of which I became aware while engaged in this investigation.

Therefore, for the time being, let us use to the best advantage the facts contained in this book.

FRANK BONVILLE.

INTRODUCTION

Henry Ford is a thinker. He is more than that,—he is a “doer.” Henry Ford is not only the great manufacturer, with a clear vision and high ideals, but, so far as I have been able to learn, he is the only American manufacturer who has dared to attempt to practice in his business those ethics which a normal conscience dictates as just and right.

With him it is merely a question of simple justice between man and man. He holds, I should say, to the doctrine that every man is entitled to the full fruits of his honest toil, and to nothing more; and as nearly as can be done under the economic system which now prevails he follows the logical path of that doctrine; and his vision is fixed upon a finer, nobler type of democracy than the world has thus far known, a democracy under which the purest essence of freedom shall be the birthright of every citizen; a democracy of industrial equality as well as political equality.

Hence the title of this book: “What Henry Ford Is Doing.”

There exists no gulf between men who hold to and honestly work for the same ideals. This is a lesson that some of us need to learn ere solidarity can become an accomplished fact. I know a millionaire who would, I verily believe, give all of his millions tomorrow cheerfully, gladly, could he by that means bring about industrial democracy. I know a working man whose pantry is as bare as “Old Mother Hubbard’s,” whose hands are as hard as granite from weary years of toil, whose back is as crooked as a scythe handle from the burdens his shoulders have known, and he loves nothing better than to sing the praises of the system which has broken him; unions he abhors; strikes are anathema to him. The point I would make is this: The cause of the laboring man has friends outside as well as inside the ranks of labor. It has enemies inside as well as outside of its ranks. The working man who covets the larger wages of a more skilled brother worker and who would pull him down or betray him simply because his day’s wage is larger, possesses exactly the same psychology as does the so-called capitalist who worships at the shrine of Mammon. And the capitalist who steps into the ranks of labor and fights for a better order of things is entitled to recognition as a member in good standing of the great Brotherhood of Man.

Pray do not misunderstand what I have said. Labor must look to labor for its own salvation; yet let us be broad-minded about it, remembering that labor represents all but a very small percentage of the population of the world and that therefore it behooves Labor in its great awakening to be at once wise and generous, and it is neither wisdom nor generosity to disdain the hand that is held out in a true spirit of friendship, or to ignore the good work of friends who labor for Humanity's cause outside of Labor's immediate ranks.

Let all friends of true democracy stand side by side and push forward undiscouraged, for the light shines just ahead. Let us, fully conscious of the justice of our own demands, and having measured well the blustering strength of the bully who opposes us, take up the gage and wage unremitting war with the weapons of reason and enlightenment, steadfast in the knowledge that humanity's day is at hand.

We must not, we will not, permit ourselves to be robbed by a handful of capitalists whose minds, distempered by visions of undreamed power, in their super-cunning would set worker against worker with a subsidized press and paid agents whose propaganda is carried on under the cloak of "patriotism," "democracy," "Americanism," etc., and who seek to damn the cause of Labor by applying to its loyal leaders and supporters such epithets as "I. W. W.," "Bolshevik," "Communist," etc.,—epithets which, emanating from such a source, should perhaps be accepted as titles of honor rather than of shame.

To the friends of Labor everywhere, in whatever class or occupation they may be found, this book is lovingly dedicated.

FRANK BONVILLE.



The Bureau of Information is publishing the letter following, written by Mr. Michael Vicari, one of Mr. Ford's secretaries, to show the co-operation given Mr. Bonville in his work for humanity:

"I have had the pleasure of becoming personally acquainted with Mr. Frank Bonville, through his continual visits to Mr. Ford's Peace Office. My object is to convince the people that the remarks of Bonville are genuine. . . . I met Bonville August 2, 1916. He was admitted to the office, after stating that his business was with Mr. Theodore Delavigne, Mr. Ford's Peace Secretary. . . . Bonville and myself had a very pleasant chat which lasted about an hour. Our main topics were Peace and Preparedness, and it was very plainly seen that my visitor was well versed on the subject. . . . Mr. Delavigne asked if I could locate Mr. Ford, and in a few minutes I had him at the office. It was at this moment that Mr. Bonville and Mr. Ford met. . . . I took up the opportunity to show Mr. Bonville through the big Tractor Plant. In a little while he came back to the office; then Mr. Bonville and Mr. Delavigne motored to the city. I have had the pleasure of arranging many dates for Mr. Delavigne and Mr. Bonville after that.

"MICHAEL VICARI, Assistant to Theodore Delavigne."



Freedom of the Seas



HENRY FORD

[From the Detroit Journal, July 11, 1919.]

Henry Ford's father, at the age of 20, emigrated from Brandon, Ireland, and settled on a 40-acre farm on Michigan Avenue, eight miles from Detroit. Fifteen years later he married Mary Litegott and there were six children, three boys and three girls, of whom Henry Ford, born July 30, 1863, was the oldest.

From the first day Henry Ford started to work on his father's farm he became determined to make an effort to make life for the farmer easier and more pleasant. Working toward this end he spent all his spare time "tinkering" with mechanical devices, establishing a repair shop on his father's farm. At 16 he left his father's farm and obtained a job as apprentice in the steam engine plant of Flower Bros., Detroit. Nine months later he went to work for the Dry Dock Engine Co., where he remained for two years, becoming a first-class machinist.

At 19 Ford obtained another job as repair man for John Cheeny, state agent for a portable farm engine, being on the road in the summer and at his father's home in the winter, where he enlarged his machine shop. During the two years he passed in this work he developed a small farm steam tractor and made various electrical experiments.

Runs a Sawmill.

At 21 his father gave him 40 acres in Dearborn and Ford settled down to operating a sawmill in the winters and repairing farm steam engines for the Buckeye Harvester Co. during two summers.

In his 24th year Henry Ford married Clara J. Bryant, built a home, cleared his farm, and passed his time farming and building a steam road wagon which he never finished. After two years of this life he left the farm and went to work with the Detroit Edison Co. as night engineer at \$45 a month, moving his family to Detroit and establishing his machine shop in a small barn on Bagley Avenue—a shop about the size of a present-day back-yard garage.

The Edison Co. then made Ford chief engineer at \$125 a month and he remained with that organization for seven years, working 12 hours a day and putting in his evenings at his machine shop working on the development of gas engines and the perfection of his second motor-driven vehicle, which he brought out in 1898. In that year he left the Edison Co. and joined forces with the Detroit Automobile Co., organized to produce this car.

Beginnings of Cadillac Company.

Henry Ford held one-sixth of the \$50,000 capital stock of this concern, with the position of chief engineer at \$100 a month. He



THE SOLIDARITY OF LABOR

later left this organization and this resulted in a reorganization being effected which changed the name of the company to the Cadillac Automobile Co. That was in 1901, and immediately Ford purchased a shop at 81 Park Place, where he began the construction of his third gasoline-driven road vehicle. It came out in 1902 and it was this car that attracted Alex Y. Malcomson.

Nothing in fiction approaches the amazing story of the Ford Motor Co.'s public success. It really began one day late in the winter of 1904, the year after the company was organized, when a roaring, screeching thing of iron and steel leaped and careened over the ice of Baltimore Bay at the Flats.

This specter-like projectile was one of the first Ford stock cars, stripped for action on a one-mile race course dug through a foot and a half of snow and covered with cinders. At the wheel of this snorting speed demon clung a grim-visaged man, wrapped in a heavy coat, the collar turned up about his chin and caught with a huge safety pin. It was Henry Ford, then better known as an inventor and automobile racer.

Fame of Car.

The car was out that day to break a record made at Daytona Beach, Florida, a few weeks previous by another Detroit car now a leader in its field. And a new record was established which was emblazoned in the Ford exhibit at the automobile show of 1904-5 in Madison Square Garden, New York.

It was that achievement that brought fame and fortune to the Ford Motor Co., and it was obtained almost at the cost of Henry Ford's life, for at the finish of that wild drive the car hit a snow-bank, turned a couple of somersaults and catapulted its driver twenty or more feet through the air.

This was but one of many such spectacular features connected with the early life of Henry Ford and the Ford Motor Company.

The Ford Company in its last published annual statement as of July 31, 1918, had total assets of \$203,149,460, which included \$37,117,363 in real estate, \$20,335,982 machinery and equipment, \$44,522,562 material in process of manufacture, \$91,471,851 cash and accounts receivable, \$67,981 patent rights, \$1,231,906 inventories, and \$1,815,000 investments.

Against this was checked liabilities of \$2,000,000 capital stock, \$10,653,327 accounts payable, \$5,950,564 accrued expenses, \$9,902,841 depreciation reserve, and \$175,242,728 surplus.



[From Mr. Ford's Own Page in the Dearborn Independent.]

Three years ago the United States declared war on Germany . . . The war was to make the world safe for democracy. . . There is nothing to be gained in halting our thought at the statement that we won the military contest, neither is there anything to be gained by rehearsing the fact that our military opponents failed of their purpose. . . But who influences governments to act in the first place? Whence comes the first insinuation of disruptive policy? In answering this question some prefer to lay the blame on the whole people. They are perhaps blamable for allowing themselves to be inspired to false courses and for permitting their rulers to use their strength and wealth for bad ends; but certainly no one will say that the people themselves originate war. The very passions which prepare a people to go out to war are worked into them from above—by a prejudiced and browbeaten press, by representations of their government which has been worked into a fever of suspicion and fear. The people have neither the time nor the inclination to hate each other. All this is worked into them, and the source of the influence is outside and above them. What is it?

Whatever the force is that makes war, this much is certain: No inquiry has yet been undertaken by the governments to discover and determine what it is. What Germans know is this: The hidden force was active in the German War Office. What Frenchmen know is this: The hidden force was at work in the French Ministry of War. What Britishers know is this: The dark influence also had access to Whitehall. Perhaps it had less access to the War Department of the United States than of any other country—BUT—it is stronger there now than it was at any time before or during the war! . . .

. . . The people are bewildered. They ask themselves: "Who is it that decrees that we shall kill each other every little while? Who or what is it that forces our government to think of war, and build for war, and tax for war, and train for war, and study for war, and take registration for war, as if War were the main business of Government?" We may take it for granted that the forces which make war are the same forces which in every country are holding back every movement which would make for the uncovering of the deep-seated, hidden promoters of war as a business. . . .

The point to keep in mind is that, though we won the military contest, the world has not yet quite succeeded in winning a complete

**Compulsory
Military
Training
would cost
the people of
this country
\$1,125,000,000
per year.---**

*Republican
Floor Leader
Mondell*

**AMERICAN UNION
AGAINST MILITARISM
Westory Building
Washington, D. C.**



victory over the promoters of war and their instruments in politics, finance and militarism.

You cannot defeat those dark forces by war—because war is their game. The last war could not defeat them, for the war itself was the sign that they had gained their point. Their point was the war. Bringing it about was their object. Having it at all was their success. War is never a calamity to those who play the nations like chessmen, one against the other.

No. Peace is the defeat of the dark powers. Exposure by peaceful methods is their defeat. Prosperity which is shared by the producers of prosperity—that helps to defeat them, too.

The governments have had the opportunity to expose the real roots of war, and have not done it. . . .

These forces fear nothing so much as the light of the naked truth. That is why they have such a heavy hand on all the molders of public opinion.

The truth, not war, is the only thing they fear. They turn war to their advantage; they cannot turn the truth; it condemns them.

Every true man ought to go back to our moral purpose in the war, namely: to destroy war. War can be destroyed by the truth about its sources.

From a Letter of Frank P. Walsh

of New York City, ex-Chairman of the Industrial-Relations Commission, dated August 11, 1919:

“Your plan, Mr. Bonville, for disseminating cogent and striking expressions from all sources is a splendid one and, to my mind, capable of very extended and useful development.”

A Letter From James A. Duncan,

Secretary of the Central Labor Council, which represents about 70,000 union men of Seattle and vicinity:

“Mr. Frank Bonville: Please be advised that in response to your letter of September 8th, the Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity has concurred in your request for its moral support by endorsing your campaign for a six-hour day. With best wishes for success, I am
“JAMES A. DUNCAN.”

“September 22, 1919.”



[Mr. Ford's Own Page in the Dearborn Independent, August 2, 1919.]

. . . We ought not to forget that wars are a manufactured evil and are made according to a definite technique. A campaign for war is made upon as definite lines as a campaign for any other purpose. First, the people are worked upon. By clever tales that would be worthier the dime novel than the journals of civilization, the people's suspicions are aroused toward the nation against which war is desired. . . .

. . . All you need for this are a few agents with much cleverness and no conscience, a press whose interest is locked up with the interests that will be benefited by war, and then the "overt act," so much spoken of, will soon appear. It is no trick at all to get an "overt act" once you get the hatred of two nations to the proper pitch. We ought not to forget that wars are sometimes assisted into existence by men whose business demands it. There were men in every country who were glad to see the recent war begin and sorry to see it stop. Hundreds of American fortunes date from the Civil War; tens of thousands of new fortunes will date from the European War. Nobody attempts any longer to deny that war is a profitable business for those who like that kind of money. War is an orgy of money, just as it is an orgy of blood. Everybody knows that by this time. The explanations of the fact may be new; the fact itself is as old as war.

. . . There is less unity in the world today, if you allow the influence of the hate-makers to shape your mind, than there was at the height of the war. . . . But what do we see now? One party works deftly to renew the Japanese war scare. Another moves dexterously to revive the waning enthusiasm for a military aggression upon Mexico. One party would have us beware of England as a nation never to be trusted under any consideration. Another would have us regard France as too materialistic for our friendship. While others would fan any chance spark they may find of distrust of Italy. And if they fail here—although they do not wholly fail in any of these—there is always Russia left.

Let us not forget how the last war was made. Let us not be blind to the fact that the same tactics are being played today. In our eagerness to forget the war let us not forget that the forces which produced the war still exist and are at work among us.

Some of us took a good deal of criticism at one time by intimating that profits had a considerable bearing on some men's patriotism—that is, upon their desire for war which they invariably called "patriotism." And we ought not to forget that the lust for war



TERENCE McSWINEY

money is not dead yet. That is a lust which can never be satisfied even by a glut of profits. Thousands upon thousands in our own country, not to speak of others, have had a taste of that kind of money and they would not be averse to more from the same source. Building up a military establishment can provide war profits for a number of years before the war. But when the establishment is complete, then the continuance of profits demands that it be taken out on the field of battle and knocked to pieces again. And here is where Greed has a hand in producing war.

The same forces which menaced the world in 1914 and the years preceding are still here. Let us not forget it. . . .

Linn A. E. Gale: "What Henry Ford Is Doing."—This is not only the story of what radicals and liberals generally are doing, being a series of extracts from periodicals and books of the last couple of years which denounce war, exploitation and corruption. Frank Bonville, the author, is one of the most indefatigable propagandists in America in behalf of a better social order. His publicity work has been of immense value in awakening sleepy minds to the iniquities that curse America. . . .

There are plenty of people with good intentions who want to stop profiteering and economic wrongs and who think they can do it by reforms. By getting them to read extracts from the writings of scientific Communists and Socialists, Bonville is showing them the error of their ways and helping them to see that the trouble lies in the system itself. . . .

Bonville has assembled a mass of quotations from the American press and reproduced some of the most forceful cartoons that have appeared in these papers in the last few years. There is a lesson on every page of his book and the heap of facts mounts so high that every man whose brain is not atrophied, whose conscience is not benumbed, must comprehend the lesson. It is a splendid book for educational purposes. We wish that "What Henry Ford Is Doing" might find its way into every American home.—(Book Review in "Gale's Magazine.")

You pay a man for land, what are you paying him for? You pay him for something that no man produced; you pay him for something that was here before man was, or for a value that was created, not by him individually, but by the community of which you are a part.—(Henry George.)



Eugene V. Debs in action.—The man who was three times Socialist candidate for President, a whirlwind orator and campaigner. f

A PRACTICAL SOLUTION

By FRANK BONVILLE

With all due respect to the ballot box, we cannot expect much through voting as long as 60 per cent of the wealth of this country is in the hands of 2 per cent of the people. In other words, the capitalist has absolute control. Until control is equalized, about the only thing we can resort to is our economic power at the point of production—this means to work six hours, and then quit! This is direct action that can be used without violence or without interfering with our present form of government. This is how the eight-hour day, I understand, was brought about by the Lumber Workers on the Pacific Coast, and by Henry Ford in the Ford plant—direct action on the part of Mr. Ford and on the part of workers on the Pacific Coast. We must always bear in mind that an injury to one worker is an injury to all, and that the working class in general, referring to the producer, has absolutely nothing in common with the average capitalist.

LET US BE MEN! WORK SIX HOURS AND THEN QUIT!
And give the other two hours' work to some man whose family is in need of his earnings.

Under the present system a man's labor has become a commodity (the same as any other commodity) and is sold to the highest bidder. If it were not for Unions today there would be nothing to prevent the capitalist from working the people fourteen or sixteen hours a day.

If these eighteen books are not in your library, they may be secured through your bookstore or from the publishers: Progress and Poverty, by Henry George—The Social Significance of the Modern Drama, by Emma Goldman—Marxian Economics, by Ernest Unterman—Conventional Lies of Our Civilization, by Max Nordau—The Age of Reason, by Tom Paine—The Brass Check, by Upton Sinclair—The Steel Strike, by William Z. Foster—Forty-four Lectures, by Robert G. Ingersoll—What Henry Ford Is Doing, by Frank Bonville—The Centralia Conspiracy, by Ralph Chaplin—Life of Eugene V. Debs, by David Karsner—The Everett Massacre, by Walker C. Smith—The Iron Heel, by Jack London—Crime and Criminals, by Clarence Darrow—Lenin: The Man and His Works, by Williams—War—What For?, by Kirkpatrick—Under Fire, by Barbusse—The I. W. W. in the Lumber Industry, by James Rowan.

**MEN FEAR THOUGHT AS THEY FEAR
NOTHING ELSE ON EARTH ~ MORE
THAN RUIN, MORE EVEN THAN DEATH
THOUGHT IS SUBVERSIVE AND
REVOLUTIONARY, DESTRUCTIVE AND
TERRIBLE ~ THOUGHT IS MERCILESS
TO PRIVILEGE, ESTABLISHED INSTI-
TUTIONS, AND COMFORTABLE HABITS
THOUGHT IS ANARCHIC AND LAWLESS
INDIFFERENT TO AUTHORITY. CARE-
LESS OF THE WELL-TRIED WISDOM OF
THE AGES. THOUGHT LOOKS INTO THE
PIT OF HELL AND IS NOT AFRAID. IT
SEES MAN, A FEEBLE SPECK, SUR-
ROUNDED BY UNFATHOMABLE
DEPTHS OF SILENCE, YET IT BEARS
ITSELF PROUDLY, AS UNMOVED AS
IF IT WERE LORD OF THE UNIVERSE.
THOUGHT IS GREAT AND SWIFT AND
FREE, THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD -
AND THE CHIEF GLORY OF MAN ~**

BERTRAND RUSSELL

DO YOU WANT ANOTHER BUTCHER'S HOLIDAY?

DO YOU WANT ANOTHER WAR?

Do you want to go to Mexico and kill your Mexican brother whom you have never seen and who has never harmed you?

Do you want to go there and let him kill you?

Do you want to keep up this killing business?

Do you want to be a pawn in another game of blood-letting and torture?

Or have you had enough of hell on earth?

Comrades, the capitalists of the United States want to wage war on Mexico. They have wanted to do so for a long time. They want to conquer this beautiful, rich, sunny land. They want to establish another Ireland to writhe in a new Gethsemane of national agony and be raped and robbed at the sweet mercy of the imperialists of Wall Street.

They want you to fight and suffer and die so they can pile up their blood-stained profits, coined from bound and agonizing Mexican workers.

Don't do it! Don't fight your Mexican brothers. Refuse to fight. Refuse to make munitions for the purpose of fighting them. Refuse to produce food and supplies for such a war. Strike! Resist! Revolt!—when the time comes.

If the capitalists want to invade Mexico, let them do it. Don't YOU do it. Let those who want the war fight the war. It will be a fine way of getting rid of them. It will be an effective method of eliminating the parasites.

Comrades, Fellow Workers, we have no objection to the capitalists killing themselves if they want to. They are welcome to amuse themselves as they like. But we refuse to kill ourselves for them. If they want dirty work, let them do it.

There will be no war unless we, the workers, fight in it. Since we shall not, there will be no war.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO,
P. O. Box 985, Mexico City, D. F., Mexico.



**TROTSKY CONFERRING WITH GENERAL
VATZETZIS AT THE FRONT**

The following is taken from the Ford International Weekly of July 5, 1919:

"The Capitalist . . . can do more than any other man. . . . The trouble with him is selfishness and ignorance—mainly his ignorance. He seems to know nothing of the history of feudalism and the French Revolution. He seems never to have studied the cause of the present state in Russia. He seems to be ignorant of the fact that the unsettled condition of affairs in this country today are in the main due to the over-reaching of his class in the last two or three generations. He seems unable to grasp the fact that he is in the minority, and that the majority are moving on into a new social, political and industrial order. . . . The labor problem will never be solved by a soldier with a gun. . . . The time has come when we must stop and face, and solve the labor problem where we are, with everybody present. . . . I have no program to offer, but I can see some things which, it seems to me, should be done, and done at once . . . for the common use of all men. . . .

". . . Another thing we should look into is the length of the working day. . . . I think that eight hours is even longer than is necessary. I cannot see why the employer should rob the employes of the major portion of the benefit arising from the introduction of machinery. I cannot see why, if a machine can do the work of ten or twenty men, a man should be compelled to work at that machine as many hours as he did formerly when his output was one-tenth or one-twentieth as much. . . .

". . . As for wages—nothing can be solved by wages. A high minimum wage will do no good. If other conditions were to remain unchanged, a minimum wage of twenty dollars a day would be of benefit to the working classes for no longer period than it would take the landlords to raise the rent and the middlemen in food distribution to increase the prices of food. I think that employers of labor must come to the realization that industry is not built up for the benefit of stockholders alone. . . .

". . . I think the time has come when men of wealth must recognize that wealth is not a private possession. It never was and never can be. Wealth is the fruit of labor. It is only another form of labor, and it belongs to labor. . . .

"It is time to quit our hypocritical piety in the form of 'charity' and to begin to be just in our dealings with men."



THE IRON CROSS

[By I. D. Ransley.]

Soviet Russia has forced the capitalist countries of the world not only to bend the knee and salute the Socialist Federated Republic, but to use her products and material in order to bolster up for the time being a system that is tottering and about to fall and carry with it all the old institutions and their corrupt supporters.

Speaking about the League of Nations, a world court of peace, self-determination of small nations, and wildly wave the Starry Banner, and all that—yet there is one haunting fear that you and your kind ever have at your heels, and that is the ever-increasing multitude of wage-slaves who are not pacified by your hired hand-maids of capitalism.

These 54 publications are not handled by us. They can be secured through your news-dealer or the publishers:

The Liberator, La Follette's Magazine, The Industrial Worker, Pearson's Magazine, The World, Nonpartisan Leader, Appeal to Reason, Butte Daily Bulletin, Labor, British Columbia Federationist, One Big Union Monthly, The Commoner, The Equitist, Humanity First, Weekly People, Gale's Magazine, Soviet Russia, The Messenger, The Socialist Review, The Truth Seeker, The Crucible, The Melting Pot, The Irish World, The Nation, The Columbia Sentinel, The New York Call, San Diego Labor Leader, The New Day, The Truth, Western Clarion, The Crusader, The Eye-Opener, The Daily Herald, Reconstruction, The Rip-Saw, Tom Mooney's Monthly, The New Justice, Good Morning, Solidarnosz, The International Free Trader, The New Menace, Real Democracy, The Proletarian, The New Republic, Ford International Weekly, The Modern School, Common Sense, The Golden Age, The Eye, The World Tomorrow, The Toiler, The Rib Tickler, The Capital Times.

Regarding WAR WITH MEXICO, if you are not in favor of it, subscribe for "GALE'S," the only RADICAL MAGAZINE PUBLISHED IN MEXICO. It is fighting the INTERVENTION PLOT. Gale impresses the truth strongly upon the minds of the public. The subscription price is \$2.00 a year. Address: "GALE'S," BOX 518, MEXICO CITY, D. F., MEXICO.

Feb., 1919.

Honest Abe's Philosophy



If I were to try to read, much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business. I do the very best I know how—the very best I can; and I mean to keep on doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference.' ”

“Speeches and Presidential addresses”
by Abraham Lincoln

CARL W. ACKERMAN:—The Bolsheviks are cleaning house.

W. FRANCIS AHERN:—Attempt is being made in Australia to pave the way for imperial domination.

GEORGE ANDREYTCHEV:—The General Labor Confederation is pledged to a direct struggle against Capitalism and its weapon . . .

ANISE:—The seat of government in economic matters is in the banks, and not at the city hall.

CHARLES ASHLEIGH:—It was the Forest and Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of the I.W.W. that stood forth upon the great industrial stage of the Northwest and challenged the monster of profit.

FRANCIS AHERN:—And while we count what this war has cost us, we have on the other hand the knowledge that the capitalists have profited as never before.

GEORGE N. BARNES, P. C.:—So long as we have private people making guns with the incentive of private profit, there will never be peace.

HENRY BOOL:—O white slave, shake off thy shackles, sweep the cobwebs from your brains, stand shoulder to shoulder, and by the Eternal Verities, the future is yours.

W. E. BROKAW:—If the people could be persuaded to cease taking the papers controlled by Privilege and take only papers devoted to their real interests, it wouldn't be long before they could easily abolish Privilege.

DAVID P. BERENBERG:—Where did the capitalist's profit come from? Labor.

MICHAEL ALTSCHULER:—Marx maintained that the class struggle is political, no matter what forms it acquires in course of development—whether by means of parliamentary, economic (industrial) or purely intellectual methods, the proletariat attempts to transform the social structure of society, it is a political change. The I.W.W., the Syndicalists, the Anarchists, the Communists and the Socialists, each so radically differing in tactics and social outlooks, are nevertheless having one aim in common, and that is: The destruction of Capitalism and the inauguration of a new State or system of society.

The Results of Preparedness

From Ford's Times.



WILLIAM CLEARY:—The workers make the money, the Copper Trust gets it.

BELLEGIARQUE:—Government has nothing to give me except that which it takes from me.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN:—It's easier to build than to tear down.

W. H. BENSON:—Let us analyze before we criticize. . . . We cannot do justice to any topic unless we analyze both sides.

GRACE D. BREWER:—Woman hates war. She hates it because it steals away the darling son and father only to send them home mangled or dead.

DR. EDWIN J. BROWN:—Working people ought to own their own stores.

EUGENE BELMONT:—The I. W. W.'s are the pioneers of a new society.

VICTOR L. BERGER:—From the beginning of time the bird of freedom has been a jailbird.

SENATOR WM. E. BORAH:—I would write into the Constitution an amendment forbidding the country to enter into any war, except one of defense, until the people have the opportunity to express their will by vote.

H. C. BIEHL:—The strike is the last weapon the worker has, and any attempt to interfere with it would mean an open rebellion by all of labor.

F. A. BLOSSOM:—The Industrial Workers of the World organize the workers by industries, not trades.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN:—If the newspapers of the country told the truth for six months, it would put an end to any wrong.

ALLAN L. BENSON:—To the Working Class of the World: . . . You must end war, or war will end you.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE:—The "Wise, Rich and Good," as they call themselves, have completely lost their heads.

sep 1919

INDUSTRIAL
DEMOCRACY

EMANCIPATION

ONE FOR ALL

ALL FOR ONE

POWER

ONE BIG UNION

SOLIDARITY

ORGANIZATION

EDUCATION

CLASS CONCIUSNESS

AGITATION

WAGE
SLAVERY



KARL MARX



SAM

HOMER BONE:—I know of no higher duty to one's constituents than to unmask every effort of Big Business, to loot the pantries of the poor, and to curb constitutional rights. We have made 18,000 new millionaires. We have raised five Liberty loans and every dollar of the first four went into the making of these millionaires.

ARTHUR BRISBANE:—Why is Lenin so powerful? Because he understands the whole of Russia. . . . Lenin is the ruler of Russia. And every man in the Russian army would die for him, because they believe in him. . . . He believes what he preaches.

ROBERT BRIDGES:—I'm not afraid of the Bolsheviki.

YON CASSIUS:—What is the difference between European Militaist and the Yankee Preparationist?

SENATOR CAPPER:—While we were sending our boys to France the United States Steel Corporation made \$1,300,000,000.

W. HARRIS CROOK:—Members of the Boston Fire, Police, Water and Treasury Departments are affiliated with the A. F. of L.

FRANK W. COTTERILL:—The idle money in the banks today is the worker. We have seen enough to convince the most skeptical that we have got to look out for our own.

PARLEY PARKER CHRISTENSEN:—Ninety-three per cent of all government expense has gone to the Army and Navy.

LORD ROBERT CECIL:—I am absolutely convinced you have got to give to the wage-earners a share in the management of the industry in which they are employed.

GEORGE B. COLMAN:—Bank deposits before the war, \$27,000,000,000. Bank deposits in 1919, \$75,000,000,000.

SIR EDWARD CARSON, M. P.:—I believe that if things go on as they are going at present the House of Commons will be ruined.

FRANK I. COBB:—For five years there has been no free play of public opinion in the world.

SAMUEL CROWTHER:—The socialistic propaganda . . . works exactly twenty-four hours a day seven days a week.



H. E. COFFEY:—The Standard Oil Company of Indiana has made net profits of 467 per cent in seven years.

D. C. COATES:—The old gang can be cleaned up and will be if everyone from now on does his or her duty.

S. A. CRAFT:—Study our gambling game called business.

JUDGE CLAYPOOL discovered that an I. W. W. would not skip bail—in fact, had no desire to run away. A “gentleman’s agreement” was enough to hold an I. W. W.

D. D. DIETZ:—The working class needs no international to tell them not to load ammunition for the allies. Strike against allied munitions is the first effective way to help Soviet Russia.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON:—If there be a country where speech is not free, where mail bags are opened and letters tampered with—that country is not civil, but barbarous.

EUGENE V. DEBS:—In Boston, for example, the death rate of babies of the poor is nearly two and a half times the death rate of babies of the rich. At least 100,000 babies thus needlessly perish each year in the United States. The children of the working class are driven to body and soul destroying toil in factories, workshops and mines in order that the children of the rich parasites may play and enjoy the opportunities which a decent society would accord to every child in the world.

A DOUGHBOY:—Well, that wonderful war was over and we doughboys who had fought were mighty glad to sail by that dear old Statue of Liberty in the Harbor of “Little Ol’ New York.” We were proud to be Americans, and all of that pride burst forth in a rousing cheer when we saw those dear old Stars and Stripes waving once again on our beloved land. I thought I was an American. But, oh, boy! I sort of shriveled up after I landed—got home here to dear old San Diego. Those grand old profiteers were the . . . 100 per cent Americans. . . . When I attempted to buy, there it was! Plain as day! One hundred per cent advance in price—100 per cent American. Simple, isn’t it? One hundred per cent profit—100 per cent Americanism!

GRACE DE GRAFF:—Henry Ford did what he started out to do; he established a permanent Bureau of Peace at The Hague.

DETROIT TIMES SEPT 20, 1916.

Leading a Blind British Soldier to Paddle



Visitors at one of the homes in England for blind soldiers lead them out on the beach to paddle. This photograph shows a little girl who is acting as the guide for one of the men who lost his sight in the trenches.

F. E. COULTER:—The collection of interest means the destruction of Labor.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT:—If the vote had been granted to women some twenty-five years ago, women's influence would have so leavened world politics there would have been no war.

ED GAMMONS:—The Sinn Fein courts, with the authority of 85 per cent of the Irish people behind them, have practically put the British courts out of business.

W. F. DUNN:—Leaders never can emancipate the working class. They will have to do that themselves.

JAMES A. DAVIS:—The United States leads the remainder of the world combined in the amount of money lost in financial swindles.

FOURNIER D'ALBE:—The Bolsheviki are stronger today than ever.

GEORGE B. CATLIN:—Russia puts an end to the most powerful autocracy in the world.

O. T. ERICKSON:—We have merchants' banks, manufacturers' banks, lumbermen's banks, etc. Why not a State Bank of Labor or the First National Bank of Labor?

MAX EASTMAN:—Capitalism, in the war-ridden countries at least, has passed into that purely military stage anticipated by Jack London in his . . . book, "The Iron Heel."

JUSTUS EBERT:—What was the crime of the I. W. W. at the beginning of the war in the copper and lumber camps of the West and Northwest? Why, it practiced mass action.

GOVERNOR FRAZIER of North Dakota suggests that we rise to the level taken by all the other countries and release political prisoners.

HARRY FEINBERG:—The I. W. W. finds not only the politician an obstacle in the way of progress, but also the pretentious and unprincipled labor fakir.

ROSE A. DAVISON:—It is necessary that we—the people—understand and share with each other the high ideals of life and service.



(From the Dearborn Independent, November, 1920.)

ENGELS AND MARX:—Workingmen, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to gain.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN:—People are beginning to understand why Joe Hill, Frank Little and Carl Liebknecht were murdered.

WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM:—Before Debs was 20 he had organized a lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen (February 27, 1875), and from that day to this he has carried a card of the Brotherhood.

W. A. DOMINGO:—"The Brass Check" is a book that every person should read.

IRWIN ST. JOHN TUCKER:—A. A. Bagwell is a school teacher, who spends the hours after school in organizing Socialist locals.

KATE GREENHALGH:—The capitalistic system is tottering.

M. A. GRIFFIN:—Let us organize our dollars 100 per cent strong.

HENRY A. GRADY:—It is not strange that there should be a tendency to centralization in our government.

ALMA GLUCK declares war is never justified. "Shoot your sons dead, American Mothers, before you allow them to enlist for war!"

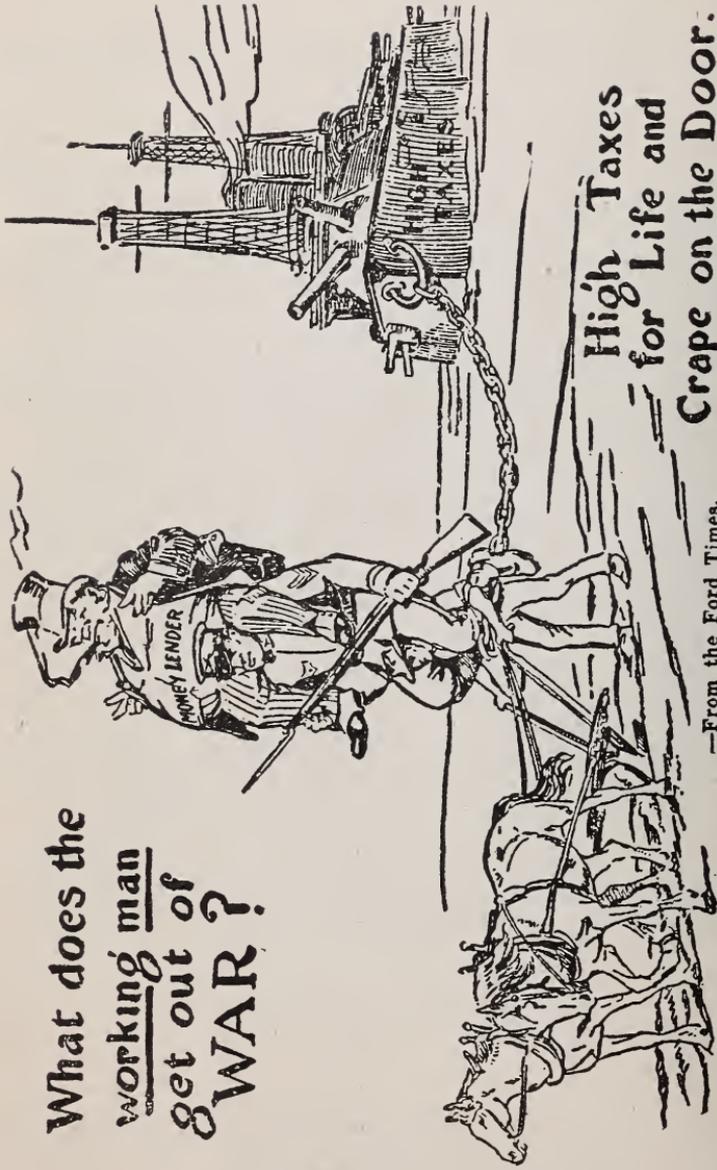
JACK GAVEEL:—The good things of life do not drop out of the clouds as the result of a wish or a prayer, but come to us only as the inevitable gain of determined and intelligent effort.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE:—The proper function of government is to make it easy for the people to do good, and difficult for them to do evil.

SECRETARY HAYS, of the International Typographical Union, stated that it may be necessary to establish the six-hour day to insure steady employment. A shorter work-day makes more jobs, the committee argued.

JAMES J. HILL testified before the Stanley House Committee that ore lands in the Superior region had been bought by him for \$4,000,000 and later transferred to stockholders of his railroad, and that they are now worth more than \$500,000,000.

What does the
working man
get out of
WAR?



High Taxes
for Life and
Crape on the Door.

—From the Ford Times.

CHARLES F. HIGHAM, M. P.:—The people want to think, and try to think, but are given the wrong things. . . .

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD:—There are in America 4,000,000 children and 7,000,000 women in the workshops.

FRANCIS J. HENEY:—We will find a way to prevent a few men from making money out of nothing.

JOHN HOME:—The truly generous are the truly wise.

KATE O'HARE:—We don't want profit, rent or interest.

ROBERT H. HARLIN:—The American miners are after the six-hour day.

FREDERICK S. HOWE:—And as a result of the great war the smallest bank in the country has become part of an international banking monopoly.

MAX HAYES:—The capital of the nation has become concentrated in the control of a few great interests.

THOS. HAYDEN:—The man who does not believe in the Ford philosophy, in my opinion, isn't a good American.

HARRY HUFF:—If there is a spark of manhood in the American worker, he will never go to war against the peons of Mexico.

JOE HILL:—Workers of the World, awaken! Break your chains! Demand your right! All the wealth you make is taken by exploiting parasites.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES:—I am here to ask that the Russian people be left alone to work out their own destiny in their own way.

FRED L. HOLMES:—I cry out to the world to give a man a chance.

HERBERT C. HOOVER:—Every man and woman has the right to decide what issues and measures he will support.

SAM KATAYAMA:—The war of 1914-19 brought many unspeakable evils and miseries to humanity. The workers and the poor people of the belligerent nations are still suffering from the effects.



FATHER T. J. O'DONNELL



JEFFERSON \



JOHN REED
Died at his revolutionary post,
October 17, 1920.



Ex-CONGRESSMAN A. W. LAFFERTY
OF OREGON

JESSE WALLACE HUGHAN:—Socialists vote for principles rather than men.

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN:—The outside world must prepare itself to deal with a modified Soviet government.

LORD HALDANE:—There is no reason why women should not hold the office of Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor.

WALTER C. HUNTER:—Anyone with brains will admit that the workers must organize.

JUDGE J. M. HALL:—There are two British officeholders in Ireland for every three laborers.

GEORGE HARDY:—There is no mistaking where the I. W. W. stands in the world's movement, but there is a doubt in the minds of some as to what is the best policy to pursue in the field of revolutionary activity.

GEN. TALBOT HOBBS:—Parliament is spending millions and millions of pounds for the upkeep of the army, navy and air forces. One would almost think that we were just starting on a war instead of having just finished one.

C. P. HOFFMAN:—I mean you—the mother—the father—the brother—the sister—the woman—the man. I am asking you: Do you want war? I am not asking the money lender, the bond broker, the manufacturer of ammunitions, of guns, shot and shell, nor the exporter of foodstuffs and mules. I am asking YOU.

WALTER C. HUNTER:—Anyone with brains will admit that the workers must organize, because the bosses are organized in firms, corporations and employers' associations; but the big thing is for the worker to be sure he organizes under the best system, the one that will make his strength count to the utmost in the struggle for his rights.

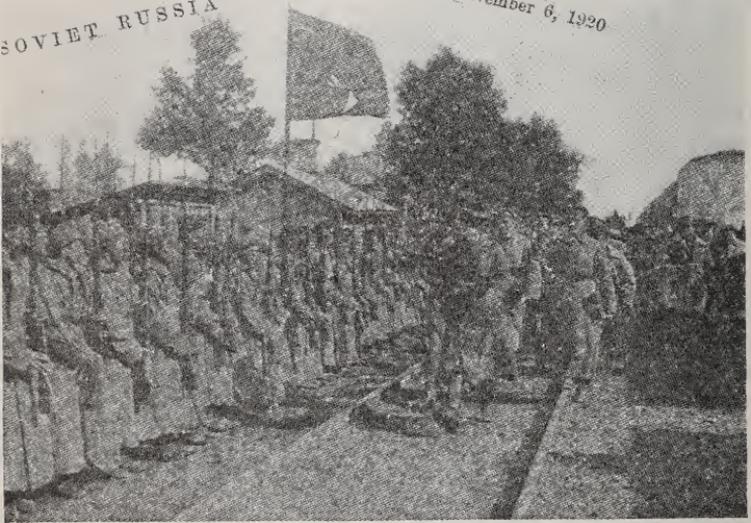
REV. WILLIAM IVENS, leader of the Winnipeg strikers, insists on the One Big Union.

R. G. INGERSOLL:—I feel indebted for the liberty we now have to Tom Payne.

MRS. R. M. JOHNSON:—Nations, like men, "reap what they sow."

SOVIET RUSSIA

November 6, 1920



TROTSKY IN MILITARY DRESS

In the above picture the Commissar of War is shown reviewing the First Moscow Regiment.

THOMAS JEFFERSON:—I sincerely believe that banking establishments are more dangerous than standing armies.

TOM JONES:—We Socialists want the whole earth—for the people who do the work.

SENATOR HIRAM JOHNSON:—I believe in an Americanism which protects free speech and the right of peaceable assembly.

O. C. JOHNSON:—Yes, there is something wrong, and it doesn't require a Socialist to prove it.

MOTHER JONES:—The people are awakening fast.

HAROLD ROLAND JOHNSON:—When life and right have been made secure, then will the poetry of love, truth and beauty come from the pens of those who brought Freedom.

W. J. JOBELMAN:—The chief work of capitalists is to try to fool the people.

HENRY KRUMREY:—In my opinion, all farmers should be for the Nonpartisan League.

KARL KAUTSKY:—If the capitalist were to work his employes only long enough to produce the worth of the wages he pays them, he would not clear a profit.

DAVID KARSNER:—Eugene V. Debs has given over forty years of his life to the working class.

JACK KAVANAUGH:—The label on a bottle doesn't change the contents.

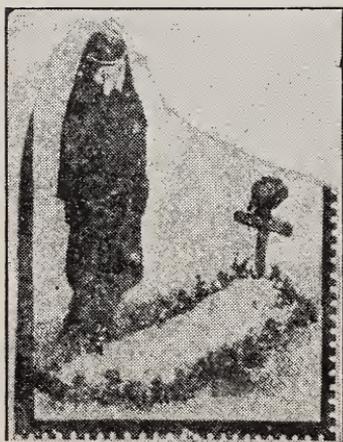
JOHN KERACHER:—The real pulse-beat of capitalism is always to be found in that center of world imperialism, England.

TOM LEWIS:—The working people are producing the best and are beginning to wonder why they can't get the best.

CHARLES H. KERR:—But you have only one thing to sell, and that is your labor power. If you can't sell it, you can't eat. So you sell it for what it will bring. . . . The capitalists control the government. We must organize in a great industrial union that shall take in all wage-workers, both skilled and unskilled.



TWO PILLARS OF SOCIETY



HER REWARD

A. W. LAFFERTY:—After a dollar is once deposited, it is made to work over and over again by the banks, until every dollar in the country is now loaned out eight times.

JACK LONDON:—A good soldier . . . never . . . thinks . . . If he is ordered to fire on his fellow citizens, on his friends, on his neighbors, on his relatives, he obeys without hesitation.

CHARLES H. LEWIS:—Forty thousand laboring men in Detroit . . . stand ready to oppose any plan for “preparedness” or war.

ERNEST LING:—The great boost of American business since 1914 is measured by jumps of billions of dollars in export trade. At first this was mostly war business.

PAUL LAFARGUE:—The capitalist class has found itself condemned to laziness and forced enjoyment, to unproductiveness and over-consumption. But if the overwork of the laborer bruises his flesh and tortures his nerves, it is also fertile in griefs for the capitalist.

ISAAC DON LEVINE:—The Russian Revolution has won its fight and the Soviet Government in Russia has come to stay. The sooner the United States government realizes it the better for the interests of America.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL:—All free governments, whatever their name, are in reality governments by public opinion; and it is on the quality of this public opinion that their prosperity depends.

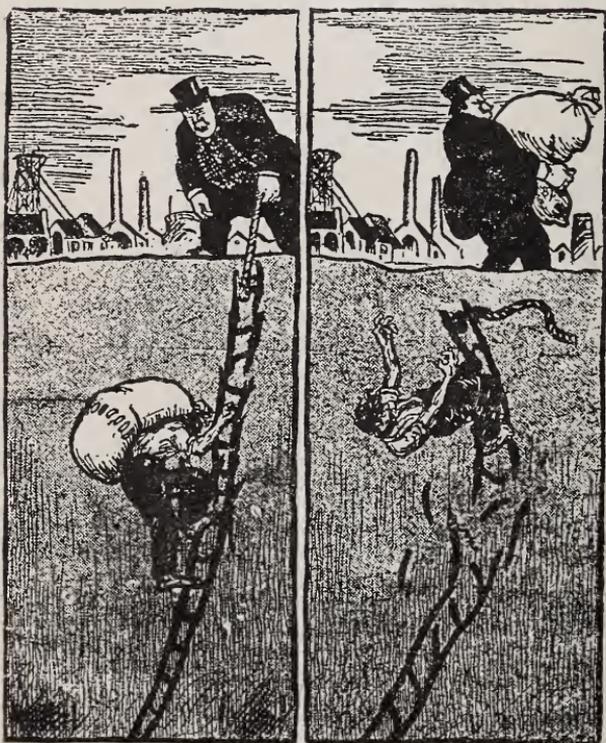
W. JETT LAUCK:—Profiteering must be stopped before anything else.

GEORGE LANSBURY:—No one in Russia is supposed to have two houses until everyone has one.

GRANDMA LEUENBERGER:—Never be afraid to face something new. Half the people in the world could be successful if only they dared leave the old rut. Lots of folks fail because they're afraid to speak for themselves at the right time. . . . Learn to rely on yourself. Your own judgment and your own conscience should be your best guides.

SENATOR LA FOLLETTE:—On an average the American people are paying 70 per cent on over \$31,000,000,000 of watered stock.

SCHEMERS AND DREAMERS.



DR. KARL LIEBKNECHT:—The producing class is bound to win out in time.

JIM LARKIN:—We recognize only the producer.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN:—This country with its institutions belongs to the people who shall inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amendment, or their revolutionary right to dismember and overthrow it.

REV. P. A. KLEIN:—The church cannot save the world by the use of money coming from unsaved sources; instead of listening to cries about Bolshevism, it would be better to listen to the cries of the underpaid worker.

W. D. LANE:—The returned soldier will find out who his real friends are.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN:—Labor should be considered first of all.

S. J. LOWELL:—If you think the farmer is rolling in wealth, why don't you come out and roll in it?

DR. SETH C. MAKER (President Washington Progressive Dental Society):—All of the unlicensed men are willing to stand or fall on their right to take the dental examination.

JOHN T. MULLIGAN (Attorney for the National Nonpartisan League) declared one of the principal plans of the League to be the elimination of the absentee landlord leech.

ALFRED W. McCANN:—In July, 1918, when the American people were going without bacon, we shipped to Europe 119,893,655 pounds at 29 cents a pound.

BUDD L. MCKILLIPS (from his poem, "Labor"):—I builded your ships—factories and mines—I builded the railroads—printed the books you have read—I builded your skyscrapers—I builded your automobile.—Without me the world could not live.—Too long you have ground me in slavery.—Today I have thrown off my fetters, and stand forth to claim what I own. . . . Injunctions and jails do not awe me; I fear not your grim prison walls. . . . No more will I cringe at your call.—I am mighty and you are but few.—No longer I'll bow in submission.—I am Labor and ask for my due.

Washington Fought Tyranny---What Will You Do?



WILHELM LIEBKNECHT:—I have always taken the insolence of my opponents as an involuntary compliment and never bothered myself about it.

ERNEST KORNER:—In all cases where their mind is not influenced by passion, mixed with prejudiced or obscured by lack of information, the people may be depended upon to act with moderation and on the side of Peace.

J. C. KENNEDY declared that the American people do not want war and will not have war.

HELEN KELLER:—We don't want any more guns or soldiers.

THOMAS F. LAWSON:—A trust is, top, sides, bottom; outside and inside, an absolutely illegal institution. . . . Imagine our lawmakers gravely meeting to make laws for the control and regulation of the pickpocket, . . . or endeavoring to prescribe legally the times, places and amounts of national bank defalcations or the kind of ink, paper and pencils which must be used by forgers in the pursuit of their profession. . . . Imagine it!

REX LAMPMAN:—Charity fights justice.

MARY E. MARCY:—There can be no wars, no navy, no army, no munitions, or guns, or transportation, or provender, without the labor of the working class.

SENATOR MOSES asserts that Henry Ford is not a red-blooded American. We are not notified as to what kind of a blood-tester the senator uses; but we are convinced that any man—black, white, yellow, red, brown—who can fill the earth with "Fords" is not only a benefactor but is blessed with brains.

W. O. P. MORGAN:—Whose hand was playing Clemenceau as it chose? All Frenchmen agreed that it was the Paris bankers—Rothschild and others. American and English capital was with these financiers. The politicians of the world have sold their peoples.

A. E. MILLER:—How many people realize their money is falling into the hands of a small clique of financiers who are gradually taking a mortgage on the country?

RENA MOONEY:—Tom Mooney wants to get out of San Quentin prison and take up his work for his own people.

FROM THE PORTLAND NEWS *July 9, 1916*



KARL MARX:—Working men of the world, organize! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and the world to gain!

ABRAHAM LINCOLN:—In order for one to be fair to himself he must always investigate both sides.

ISAAC McBRIDE:—Tell America, for the sake of truth and justice, to give Russia a chance, to withdraw her troops at once.

FRED MOORE:—The workers' hour will come the minute they get together.

MURRAY MURPHY:—Why could not all these "radicals" unite and accomplish something? The trouble lies in a misunderstanding of the word "unity."

ARCHBISHOP MANNIX:—And the war is over, and most of the world is asked to believe that it is at peace. . . . We are all wiser now.

TOM MANN:—When we have absolute solidarity we will simply reach out our hands and take that which is ours.

GEORGE E. MILLER:—The present great war was fomented primarily by interests which make money out of wars. . . . Practically all the money in the world will be found in the hands of these interests which speculate in the instrumentalities of organized murder.

SAMUEL S. MARQUIS:—The impression has somehow gotten abroad that Henry Ford is in the automobile business. It isn't true. Mr. Ford's business is the making of men, and he manufactures automobiles on the side to defray the expenses of the main business.

JOHN MOONEY:—I found that solidarity among workers in Europe is greater than here.

JOHN M. McDONALD:—Never mind the "isms." Let's get the Six-Hour Day.

JOHN F. MOORS:—Mexico is said to be capable of producing one-half of the oil supply of the world.

TOM MANN:—Solidarity will bring what belongs to us.

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY



GRANT MILLER:—Public opinion has been classified, bundled in tape and stuck in pigeonholes. . . . Every newspaper is tinctured with lies, and every sensible editor knows it and at heart is sick about it. . . . There is no such thing today as the free play of public opinion. There can be no free play of public opinion when there is no free play of facts.

PROFESSOR J. MILTON:—What is your opinion of the way Negroes are treated by the Americans?

SCOTT NEARING:—The rich may remain rich only while they keep their neighbors—brother humans—poor.

JOHN PANCNER:—There are about 1,800 or more prisoners at the United States prisons today. Many of them are young soldiers who committed some trifling offense for which they were courtmartialed and given long terms in prison.

C. E. PAYNE:—No member of the working class who can write well enough to be understood should fail to send in any report he may have knowledge of regarding working-class activity and industrial happenings.

GLENN E. PLUMB:—The men who established this nation declared: "Government is instituted for the common good, for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people, and not for the profit, honor or private interest of any one man, family or class of men."

ALVIN PORTER:—When the laboring masses of the land understand . . . the Bonville contract system . . . every producer can become his own boss . . .

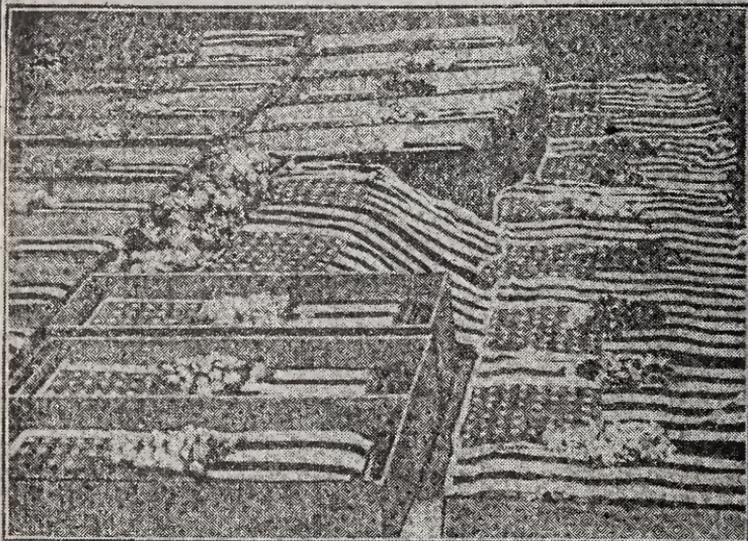
PROUDHON:—The great only seem to us great because we are on our knees. Let us arise.

WENDELL PHILLIPS:—When infinite Wisdom established the rule of right and honesty, He saw to it that justice should be always the highest expediency.

JOCILE WEBB PEARSON:—The beaten track is preferred by those afraid of the unknown.

REV. R. S. REES (after reading "The Brass Check") :—I have seen a vision, and from now on I must be a different man.

Flag-Draped Caskets of Eddystone Victims



FOR three hours all business was suspended in the town of Chester, Pa., while 10,000 persons paid their last respects to the 52 unidentified victims of the Eddystone explosion. In a heavy rain the mourners stood while clergymen of all denominations gave their blessings to those who had sacrificed their lives in making ammunition for the nations fighting the enemies of the American people. Each coffin was covered by an American flag and the ceremonies were extremely simple, only the rituals of the churches being said. The bodies of all the unidentified ones were buried in one grave, 25 feet wide and 32 feet long. Investigations into the cause of the explosion are being made and it is the consensus of opinion that the disaster was not the result of a plot but was accidental.

JOHN NORDQUIST:—Organized right will win the fight.

TOM PAYNE:—I believe in the equality of man; and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow creatures happy. . . . Jesus Christ wrote no account of himself, of his birth, parentage, or anything else; not a line of what is called the New Testament is of his own writing. The history of him is altogether the work of other people.

CHAS. PETROVITSKY:—Very often the government is blamed for the act of some of its agents.

LOUIS F. POST:—There is no democracy in industry without collective bargaining. . . . Neither industrial nor political democracy can exist unless every man has equal opportunity—an equal standing in the government and on the earth. It doesn't make any difference whether the man is educated or uneducated, rich or poor; his rights must be equal—his political rights and his industrial rights. . . .

SIR WILLIAM PETTY:—The earth is the mother and labor the father of all wealth.

EMMELINE PANKHURST:—Women will soon have their rights.

AMOS PINCHOT:—The people are exploited by the moneyed interests as never before.

WILLIAM PICKENS:—The colored man has been cheated out of nine-tenths of his votes.

R. L. PERRY:—I consider the Bonville System the greatest advance in the business world which has been made in recent years. When this system becomes . . . understood by the people they will demand its universal use. . . .

RALPH S. PIERCE:—Many things are done in the name of Law and Order which are not always in the interests of our country.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL:—Five years ago the colored population of Chicago was 65,000. Today it is 125,000. The increase has been brought about largely by employers looking for cheap labor and deprived of their usual foreign supply because of the war.

MANUEL REY:—I love you, . . . Drother . . . Rebel Worker. . . .



You Can Break the Shackles of Fear

A. P. RANDOLPH:—The I.W.W. draws no race, creed or color line.

MRS. ELLA PATTERSON:—Women are the real sufferers from the European war. . . . Should the mother have been called upon to vote the question of war, do you think that a majority of these mothers would have voted to have sent their splendid young sons out to be mowed down by machine guns, as grain is mowed by a reaper in the fields? . . . Do you suppose that the tender sister would vote to send her brother to possible death? No! A thousand times no!

JOHN RUSKIN:—The moment our capital is increased by having lent it, be it but the estimation of a hair, that hair-breadth of interest is usury.

A. M. ROVIN:—It matters not whether the war lords of industry are directing their strategic boards of profiteering from England, Germany, France or America. They are arrayed against each other for the command of the markets to dispose of the surplus wealth, but in the warfare against the producers of this wealth. . . .

I. D. RANSLEY:—Mr. Radical, the time has come for you to take a stand. If you don't declare yourself, then don't tell me you are fighting for the emancipation of the worker. . . . I have seen more street meetings disrupted by drunks than by any other cause. . . . Can you vote for the brewery and forget the hop-growers of California, who, backed by the . . . breweries, sent to prison for life Richard Ford and Herman Suhr, whose only crime was the asking for more sanitary conditions? . . .

W. P. RYAN:—On May 12, 1916, James Connolly was carried from his bed in a hospital, where he was lying with an ankle shot to pieces, and brought before a firing squad. He was so weak that he could not stand or sit, so the British soldiers tied him in a chair and then shot him dead. . . . At the age of 26 he started on the bold adventure of founding the Irish Socialist Republican Party in Dublin. He was the most Irish of all our democratic leaders, Understanding the Connolly of 1896, we understand the Connolly of all the years and fortunes to 1916, when he crowned his gospel of Labor and Nationality with the supreme proof of faith.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW:—Let anyone walk through the poorer quarters of our cities when the men are not working, but resting and chewing the cud of their reflection, and he will find that there is one expression on every mature face—the expression of cynicism.

IS FREEDOM DEAD?



By Harrison George

MRS. F. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON (widow of the Irish editor and poet who was shot without trial in Dublin at the time of the recent uprising) would not say how she escaped from Ireland.

NATHAN STRAUS:—I find the only lasting satisfaction is in what you can do for the world.

J. E. SNYDER:—Solidarity of Labor is growing.

W. M. SHORT:—I favor the establishment of a labor and farm bank to be owned and controlled by producers.

ISAAC SWEET:—Interest at legal rate is but condensed usury. It's a dangerous vice that civilization should overcome.

LESLIE M. SHAW:—Nine persons out of ten who have reached the age of sixty are dependent on their children or on charity for support.

DANA SLEETH:—Work for the gods that give, rather than the gods that take.

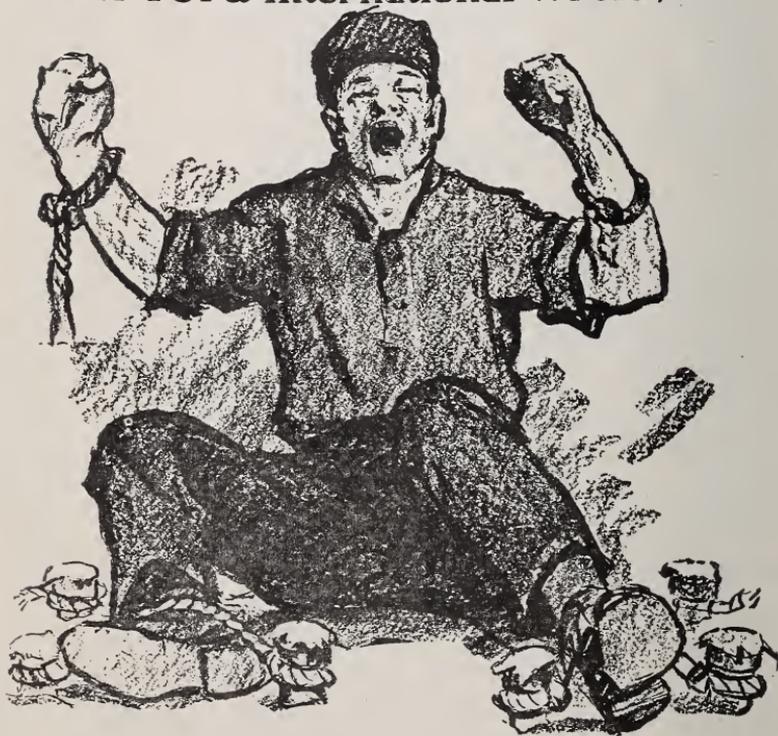
EX-CONGRESSMAN SULZER:—Congress cannot do anything without the consent of Wall Street.

L. J. SMITH:—What is the crime of crimes? It is to refuse to seek out, to know and to defend the truth against the wrongs and injustice that pauperize, brutalize and criminalize humanity the world over.

IRVING L. SPENCER:—My Dear Mr. Debs: I am studying law now, and intend to devote my life to the cause for which you are suffering now.

RICHARD SPILLANE:—In all the world there is only \$9,000,000,000 of coined gold or gold in bars. The amount of silver coined or in pigs is but \$3,000,000,000. So it is that if the coin or markers were to be used exclusively, there would not be enough in the world to pay for much more than one-half of the farm products of America alone in the year of 1919. . . . The world's business is conducted on credit. Superimposed on the relatively small base of gold and silver is a towering structure of promise—a pledge in evidence of which is a piece of paper is given. That is the bank note, the bill of exchange, the mortgage, and all the ramified forms of indebtedness.

The Ford International Weekly



Labor of the World Awakening

REV. T. H. SIMPSON:—The I.W.W. is stealing Christ from the church.

LINCOLN STEFFENS:—The State and Church—from both of which the Mexican peons have sorely suffered—have never furnished the common people anything but slavery and superstition.

WALKER C. SMITH:—Only those who challenge capitalist ownership of industry have a logical right to demand changes.

J. P. THOMPSON:—Don't forget that Ford and Suhr are serving a lifetime sentence for their activities in behalf of the workers in the California hop fields.

REV. EUGENE R. SHIPPEN read a telegram from William Jennings Bryan—against Militarism. . . . Citizens everywhere express themselves in telegrams and letters. This is the only way in which to overcome the misrepresentations of the jingo portion of the metropolitan press.

HENRY SCATTERGOOD (Mr. Scattergood is a classmate of Sam Hill. He has a pile of money, but, like Mr. Vanderlip, he is a business man who sees):—I am ashamed to say it, but business men do next to no thinking.

M. J. SMITH:—We must broaden out and not allow ourselves to go blind with labels or "isms."

A. M. SIMONS:—The sum which is wasted every year (through competitive strife and the inefficiency of capitalist class rule) is sufficient to insure to every man, woman and child in the United States an income equal to that which can now be purchased for a thousand dollars. For every family it would mean an income of about five times that sum.

MARK STONE:—Free speech is an ideal that lives in the hearts of man. It is not a fact. It never has been a fact. . . . Martyrs to Free Speech: Socrates died for free speech. Savonarola hung for it. Galileo was tortured for it. Bruno was burned for it. Voltaire was imprisoned for it. Huxley was ostracized for it. Marx was starved for it. Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison were mobbed for it. Frank Little, 'Gene Debs and William Haywood have been hung and jailed and persecuted for it. Yet we haven't got it. The best brains of history have labored for it. . . .

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

April 1914

DELETED BY
THE CENSOR



J. O. STEARNS, JR.:—The time is not far when we will all have to take one side or the other.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG:—I see . . . at last the Star of Freedom shining.

DR. HERBERT SHIPMAN:—The system of gouging dollars from the unfortunates roused me to sleeplessness.

ALFRED E. SMITH:—The bonds of the bank should be purchased by the state itself, and everything possible done to develop this into a real home-building bank.

JOHN SANDGREN:—It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. . . . The I.W.W. is not only willing but glad to grasp the hands OF ANY BODY of workers anywhere in the world who have similar aims and objects.

R. L. STEVENSON:—There is such a thing as loyalty to a man's own better self; and from those who have not that, God help me, how am I to look for loyalty to others?

EDWARD A. SUTHERLAND:—God started the race on the land, and until the race gets back upon the land, as happy freeholders, there will be no end to the social and labor troubles of the world.

JOHN SWINTON:—Lincoln spoke for men; so spoke Debs. Lincoln spoke for right and progress; so spoke Debs. Lincoln spoke for the freedom of labor; so spoke Debs. Lincoln was the foe of human slavery; so is Debs.

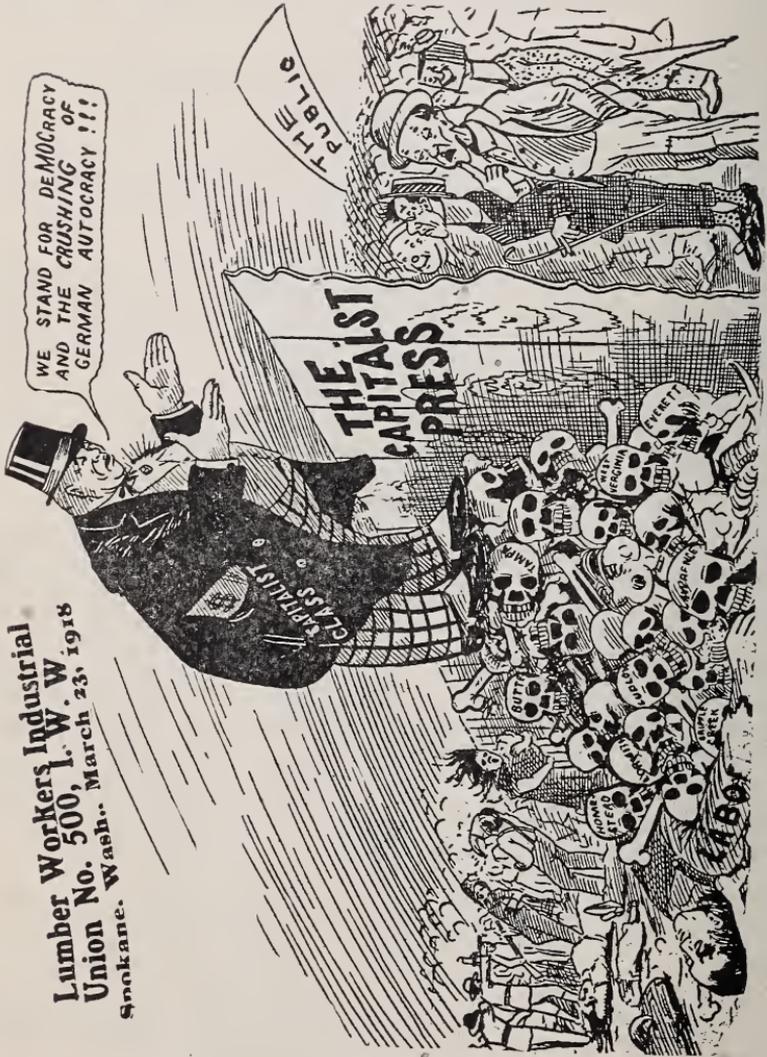
MRS. MARY SCHWAB:—Fighting for better conditions, we have everything to win and nothing to lose.

CLYDE H. TAVENNER:—Preparation for war means an increased burden of taxes for everyone, and suffering and misery on every hand.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN:—Mobs do not spring up overnight. They are organized by someone with an interest in stopping Socialist speeches.

G. ZINOVIEV:—The aim of the I.W.W. is to "build the new society within the shell of the old." This means to organize the workers.

**Lumber Workers Industrial
Union No. 500, I. W. W.
Spokane, Wash., March 23, 1918**



JOE SHOVEL:—The hard-coal miners had been “good” during the war on the promise that something would be done for them later.

DAVID TAPPEN:—Wages have risen, but who cares what wages are, so long as there is an increase in labor cost to the consumer?

LEO TOLSTOI:—People must produce as much as they consume to be happy.

MARK TWAIN:—A lie can travel half way around the world while the truth is getting its clothes on.

ARTHUR THOMSON:—The Mexican people are capable of solving their own problems.

E. TAPPAN TANNATT:—Wall Street knew five months before the declaration of war that this government would enter the war and had laid its plans to take charge of the reins of government.

FRANK TURCO:—The race riots in the East were being carefully fostered by the employing classes.

JOHN KENNETH TURNER:—There is no need to waste words as to what Wall Street wants in Mexico. It wants political control sufficient to insure the fullest capitalistic protection for its property interests.

MARY E. TICHENOR:—As has been truly said, woman has been the “slave of a slave.”

W. S. U'REN:—We should be working with all our might to put men above dollars.

H. C. UTHOFF:—I am glad to see the people getting away from fear.

ANDRE J. VOLSTEAD:—I am . . . convinced that prohibition is . . . good.

DANIEL WEBSTER:—There is nothing so powerful as truth, and often nothing so strange.

REV. CLAUDE W. WARREN:—We used to think that Christ was a fiction of the priests. But now we know that he was a man like us, a working man who had a heart for the poor.



PRÉSIDENT WILSON:—The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States.

GEORGE L. WHEELER (Special Agent of the Department of Justice):—The Columbia River Shipbuilding Corporation has been guilty of extensive fraudulent dealings with the government both during and after the war.

RABBI JOHN R. WISE:—Therefore, we may hope that in time the world at large will have a better understanding as to why working-men struck to obtain a living wage.

HOWARD R. WILLIAMS:—Any body of men who will not stick up for their rights of free speech are nothing but a gang of slaves.

TOM WALSH:—The workers themselves it is who will have to act, for they are the people who feel the unjust conditions arising on the jobs, and that is where the trouble is, and where the workers will have to take organized action.

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS:—A revolution is like any other conflict. There are the losers and the winners. The losers in Russia represent less than 5 per cent of the population.

ABNER WOODRUFF:—The Industrial Workers of the World have seen the present situation developing through many years and have made an effort to prepare for its coming, but in the face of a mad world.

JUDGE J. W. WOLTZ:—Under prohibition a man brings home his entire pay envelope to his wife. He comes home good-natured, not half drunk.

J. A. WAYLAND:—No man ever looked into the frank, blue eyes of Eugene Debs but felt the thrill of seeing an open soul of a man without guile.

T. C. WIDDICOMBE:—Why don't most ministers and priests, when speaking about God Almighty, say Almighty Dollar—what they mean—and not humbug and deceive the general public?

REV. W. A. WARD:—How does it happen that kings and rich men sit high in your temples? Such a system will have to change. None need labor more than four hours a day.



CHARLES HARRIS WHITAKER:—The housing problem cannot be solved until the land problem is dealt with.

FRANK WALKLIN:—I have covered many murder trials, but never have I seen one man deliberately enter a contest, knowing he must pit his legal wits against six others, until I saw George F. Vanderveer take up the case of the eleven men accused of the Armistice Day murder at Centralia. . . . He never hurries, although you recognize energy in every movement. He is the kind of man who would deliberate until he had reached a decision and then go into action like a wildcat.

JOHN SKELTON WILLIAMS:—One bank reported a loan of \$3.50 to a woman for six days for \$1.50 interest, or 2,400 per cent.

C. E. S. WOOD:—We are still living in the feudal age, because we are misled by effects. We often fail to see the real cause of things. War is not caused by enmity between the people of nations, but because of commercial friction between the propertied "master classes" which control the governments.

GREGORY ZILBOORG:—If a man were shut in a room, filled with books containing all the wisdom of the world, and lived long enough to absorb them all, and died there, he might be the wisest man in the world; but he would also be the most useless.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE of the Socialist Board of the U. S.:—Our fight is not against parties or spokesmen of parties; our fight is against the Capitalist System.—(Edmund T. Melms, Wm. M. Brandt, Jas. O'Neal, Wm. H. Henry, Bertha H. Mailly, George E. Boewer jr., John Hagel, Otto Branstetter.)

HULET M. WELLS:—The trait of hero worship . . . is the most aimless and abortive tendency in the field of social reform. . . . It leads a mad stampede away from an orderly movement toward concentration of power . . . to follow some Messiah. . . . Hardly has the ovation died away before a new demigod arises.

FRANK A. VANDERLIP:—Labor should have its voice in control. . . . I am perfectly aware that there are great injustices under this form of industry.

FRANK P. WALSH:—Use organized power to get back the land, the forests, the minerals and water-power franchises which were stolen from the people by fraud, force and cunning.



SAYINGS BY MR. FORD

Below are a few of the many sayings of Mr. Ford which were gathered by us since about 1915. We now have these clippings and the names of the papers or magazines in which they appeared, together with the dates, on file at the office of the Bureau of Information.

I see no use in spending time about Heaven and Hell. . . . We want to take care of today. . . . Charity takes more than it gives.

The difference between me and a capitalist is that I earn my living honestly. I produce. A capitalist loans out his money, collects his interest and lets the others do the work.

I would teach the child at the mother's knee what a horrible thing war is, that preparation for war can only end in war. War is murder. Millions of men are driven to slaughter by the system of murder, training men to kill other men. I found out who wanted war, and I am going to tell the people about them.

I am not going to stop until I have ten million subscriptions to my weekly magazine.

Why fear change? No one will be hurt in the good changes, even the idle nobleman. Get the gambling aristocrats and the capitalists to work. Unless we in our industries are helping to solve the social problems, we are not doing our principal work.

The workingmen of the United States are not getting a square deal.

I am fighting the capitalists with their own tools.

Our danger is internal. We are confronted by the danger of militarism.

None has the right to incite the war spirit who will not himself be one of the first to shoulder a rifle and march to the front.

Everyone has some good in him and can do something well. Most people eat too much, sleep too much, and don't think enough.

Be the life work of the man—to strike with everything he commands at what he declares to be the direct cause of all wars.



GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK



FRANK HARRIS



JAMES LARKIN



BOB MINOR

SAYINGS BY MR. FORD

How many newspapers in the United States today try to tell the plain truth, so that people can know just what is the truth? Not very many.

What I want to do is to make the farmer as independent as I am. I practice no charity. I give nothing for which I do not receive compensation.

If the large business men of the world would make it their religion to see that their men are paid a wage that will make them contented, instead of working hand-in-glove with the military men to fatten their wallets, the recruiting officers for the militarists would have even a harder job to get disciples. I shall expect the sneers and condemnation of those whose business is war, and of those who profit by war.

I used to go to church once a year—on Easter Sunday. I don't do that now.

If I were to live with the future generations of Europe I would urge the people to repudiate the debts that are being piled up by their governments in war. I believe it is the duty of the people to repudiate them.

The workingman is beginning to realize that it is not the rulers of the nations who make war. I firmly believe that every man who deliberately devotes his life to the trade of a soldier is either lazy or crazy.

It is my firm conviction that war would seldom occur if individuals did not make money out of war. What I fear at this juncture is the machinations of those roaring lions who really are the tools of the interests which make money out of war.

War is murder, the waster of lives and homes and lands, and "preparedness" has never prevented war.

History is more or less bunk. The trouble with the world is we're living in books and history. We want to get away from that and take care of today. We've done too much looking back.

Let us have disarmament; let us show that we mean peace. The "preparedness" now being preached is nothing but a criminal waste.



J. O. STEARNS, Jr.

**A leading lawyer of Oregon, who is now chief counsel
for Frank Bonville.**

SAYINGS BY MR. FORD

The pity of it is that this same war talk is allowed to take up the columns of newspapers and magazines that could be used towards the inspiration of peace.

Let any hostile army or navy today or any other time move against the United States and anything that I have is at the disposal of the country for defense. And I would not take a cent of profit.

As old Lew Dockstader remarks truthfully, if jokingly, "The two best friends of the United States are the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans."

Millions of men, every one of them a husband, a son, a father, or a brother, have gone to their death on the battlefields of Europe. There is sorrow in millions of homes.

I ran for senator. I did not get elected, but it taught me how those fellows carry elections—those who want war. They are the same bunch the world over. I carried the State of Michigan, but they counted me out.

This is where you newspaper men . . . ought to turn your attention to the working conditions in this country and tell the truth about them. Then you would be doing something for the good of the race. Now you are a detriment. You are fooling the people, and you will pay for it some day.

But when we think that millions of men are driven to slaughter by the system of murder, I feel that this cry for the training of men to kill other men and for the placing of an army and navy as a burden on the backs of the people is a false conception of patriotism.

The histories have been stories of war, with the horrors and the destruction glossed over and passed upon casually, while the men who took part in it all were glorified. The chapters began and ended with wars. The lines spoke the glory of war, but did not tell of the thousands of ruined homes and sorrowing women who waited and wept. Nor did they dwell at length on the destruction of industry and the material growth of the country.

The world today needs men—not those whose minds and will power have been weakened or destroyed by the injurious cigarette.



CELESTINO GASCA

Governor of the Federal District of Mexico, and former mechanic and shoemaker. Celestino Gasca has had a hand in the settlement of most of the strikes in that region and his influence has been used invariably to get the workers better wages and working conditions. Those workers who did not know Gasca before have found out in the recent strikes that he is always with them and always against the capitalists.



ALLAN BENSON



SOLIDARITY, MAY 26, 1917

SAYINGS BY MR. FORD

The militaristic government now is being preached throughout the land by men, by newspaper men, by magazines, moving pictures. Militarism is advocated. And it is all done under the guise of patriotism. The flag is flaunted before the eyes of the people and we are told that our "national honor" is at stake.

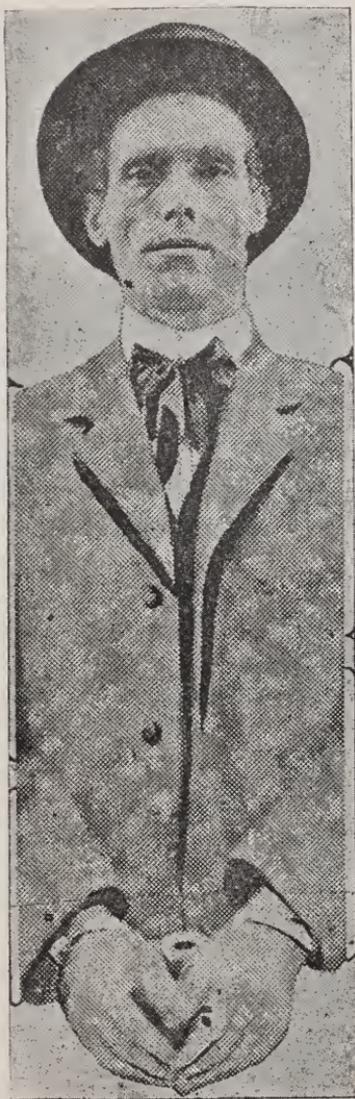
The people must stop thinking of the Government as something beyond them. The people are the Government. Every American is a stockholder in his Government.

I chanced to be in New York the day President Wilson broke off diplomatic relations with Germany and with my own eyes I saw flags run up all over Wall Street. There was no doubt about that. Those people wanted the United States to get into war. They publicly rejoiced and hoisted their flags to show their "patriotism." What patriotism? For what there was in it. There you had a living picture of the influence which causes wars, a brazen illustration that the blood of possibly millions of our boys means nothing to men who can make money out of fighting.

But I also noticed another thing. While the flags were out and there was public rejoicing that this country was to be plunged into the slaughter and the speculators were rushing around like mad to take advantage of the new crop of blood money in sight, there was not a single evidence that the "patriotism" of these people went a step beyond. There was no rush to get into the trenches, because these speculators were surging around to provide for the grim business of modern warfare, and do not care who wins or loses so long as they continue to get the money.

We are in a condition which must change or break. It is not merely the spirit of change that is upon us. We are in a condition the like of which was never seen before. It is the result of the total breakdown of old ideals, old safeguards, and old standards of personal righteousness. The world is looking for leaders. Hearing the candidates one would think that we lived in a Garden of Eden and that all the problems of the world were overseas. We shall have to save ourselves before we can hope to save anyone else.

They refuse to remember that England, during the present war, with absolute control of the sea, required 33 days to move 30,000 troops, UNEQUIPPED, from one friendly port, Quebec, to another friendly port, Southampton. Yet they tell you glibly of 400,000 enemies landing on our shores almost over night.



JOSEPH HILLSTROM



J. P. THOMPSON



FRANK LITTLE

**Organizer and General Executive Board
Member of the I. W. W., Murdered
by gunmen in Butte, Montana,
August 1, 1917.**

SAYINGS BY MR. FORD

The worker is going to end the conditions that allow the man he places above him to give that murderous order; to cause him to seek the life of a brother worker in another land and send that brother searching in turn for his blood. And I would assist this worker to educate his children from the cradle to think only in terms of peace, to hate war and all the accoutrements of war, and strive forever to drive from the world this spirit of murder.

The workers are going to put an end to the system that tears them away from their families against their will to murder their foreign brother workers.

Why should anyone have secrets if he is honest? Why should he care who knows what he knows?

A two-cent stamp rightly used will hold in the hands of the people the ruling power.

Eighty per cent of the people in cities are living artificial lives.

I will devote life and fortune to combating the spirit of militarism.

Most railroad presidents are "messenger boys" for Wall Street.

Take away the capitalist and you sweep war from the earth.



I AM GREED! I AM MERCILESS, INSATIABLE! BEWARE!



EMMA GOLDMAN



RENA MOONEY

Acquitted and freed on bail, after 22 months' imprisonment.



MOTHER JONES



MAX EASTMAN

**To the Public of
America
and to the
Working Class
Especially:**



O. A. STENER

The Bureau of Information is endeavoring to put before the people facts that are of vital interest to the working class, and to the people as a whole.

Our representative who will come amongst you is lecturing and soliciting the sale of books and literature that we, the Bureau of Information, are putting out, and will put out in the future.

If you find that our literature is of any value, and if you think it is of enough importance, we would request you to lend all assistance possible in placing our literature before the public, in order that the public may be advised through said literature of the very important facts that they are in need of knowing, in order to understand from what the people as a whole are suffering. Times are moving and are pregnant with things, and the future holds great opportunities for us if we make use of them.

Hoping that you will take this into consideration and act in accordance, we are

Yours sincerely,

BUREAU OF INFORMATION.



HELEN KELLER



CLYDE H. TAVENNER



—Drawn expressly for the Leader by B. O. Foss
—With apologies to Herbert Johnson in the Country Gentleman

TWO CLASSES IN SOCIETY

By James H. Fisher.

There are two dominant classes in capitalist society—

The Rich and the Poor
The Have-alls and the Have-nots
The Nonproducers and the Producers
The Capitalist Class and the Working Class.

There is a struggle going on between these classes, a struggle that all the babble of press, politician and pulpit cannot stop; a struggle that grows more intense and bitter with every day of history.

The manifestations of this struggle are many. Strikes, lockouts, the International of Labor, the League of Brigands, Ludlow, West Virginia, the blood atrocities of the Hungarian White Guard, the mighty battle of the Russian Revolution.

More and more this final conflict is shaping itself into one for political power.

This system is based upon ruling-class ownership of the earth and the machines of production. The soul of production under this regime of plunder is "PROFIT." And this is how it is made:

The working class having nothing on the face of the earth excepting their power to labor, are forced, if they would live, to sell it to the capitalist class who own factory, mine and mill.

Now bear with me just a moment whilst we reduce all varieties of work down to labor—abstract labor.

A is a Red Man
B is a Black Man
C is a Yellow Man
D is a White man

They all differ, yet they have something in common.

What?

They are all men.

A is an Apple Tree
B is a Pear Tree
C is a Cherry Tree
D is a Mulberry Tree



WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

Differ? Certainly. Same? Yes. How? They are all trees.

- A represents a Plumber's labor
- B represents that of a Baker
- C represents that of a Miner
- D represents the labor of a Machinist

Differ? Yes.

Same? Yes.

In What?

They all labor.

Marx, in his summary of this twofold nature of labor, says: "On the one hand all labor is, speaking physiologically, an expenditure of human labor-power, and in its character of identical abstract human labor, it creates and forms the value of commodities. On the other hand, all labor is the expenditure of human labor-power in a special form and with a definite aim, and in this, its character of concrete, useful labor, it produces use-values."

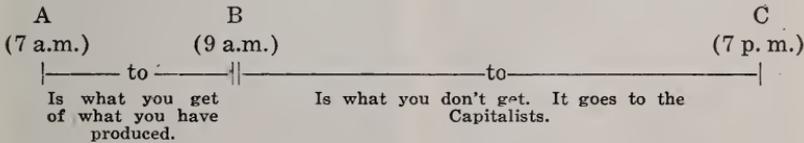
Thus, as with illustration one and two, so with that of three. The work of Carpenter, Blacksmith, Miner, Engineer, Machinist, etc., etc., though they differ in the concrete, they are the same in the abstract. Though one use his energy in hanging doors, the other making horseshoes, another digging coal, and so forth, nevertheless "THEY ALL EXPEND HUMAN ENERGY."

This labor power the workers sell, the masters buy, use it, and exploit the workers.

And this is how it's done:

- A signifies the time you start work, say 7 a. m.
- B signifies the hour you have produced the equivalent of the wages for that day.
- C signifies the end of the day's toil, say 7 p. m.

Therefore:—



From B to C is what we call Surplus Value; it is the sum total of Rent, Interest and Profit.



SENATOR LA FOLLETTE



E. TEESDALE



EAMON DE VALERA



HULET M. WELLS

So long as this condition is the cornerstone of society, the working class can expect nothing but increased suffering, cruel insecurity of livelihood, poverty and grief.

We are but peddlers of a commodity—packages of merchandise—and, at best, so long as we struggle simply on hours and wages we can but act as a resistance to the ever-encroaching system and its exploitations.

Should we then cease our everyday struggles with the employers? No. But we should at all times strive to interest, educate, centralize and organize the workers for the abolition of this thrice accursed system.

Common Ownership must displace Private Property. For Use, that of Sale. But this can only be done by intelligent, aggressive, disciplined organization.

Let us to our task with a will



A NEW READING OF AN OLD PARABLE

The Capitalist: "We have come down to bind thee."

Samson: "Go to it!"



COLUMBUS



PATRICK HENRY.



ROBERT SMILLIE
The British Miners' Leader.



WALTER THOMAS MILLS

REMARKS FROM "ARGUMENT IN DEFENSE OF THE COMMUNISTS"

By CLARENCE DARROW

[This book contains 116 pages, retails for 50 cents, and can be secured at Raymer's Old Book Store, Seattle, Washington. We, the Bureau of Information, advise the public to read this book. We find more truth in this publication than in any other literature that we can secure in regard to the General Strike of Seattle, and also information in regard to the ballot box.]

I like America; I was born here; I know its people. . . .

There is no legislature that can pass a law that will make me think black is white; I know better; and there is no court that can decide a case that will make me think black is white. I might stand it, but it would not change my opinion.

. . . There will be strikes until the industrial system is changed. Is there any reason on earth why the poor should not control industry? . . .

. . . Gentlemen, you would be slaves today if you had depended on voting. Men might never vote and they might get their rights, and they might vote forever and be slaves.

If you only get what you voted for, you would get mighty little. Voting is a habit. . . . I generally vote when there is something important. I sometimes vote, but for the life of me I do not know where my vote ever brought results. . . .

I say again that a strike—a general strike or a special strike—is perfectly lawful. If a general strike results in violence, you may punish the violator, and that is all. . . . Lawyers sometimes think they are the bosses, but nature is the boss; and if lawyers had sense enough to conform their endeavors to natural lines they would not make such fools of themselves. They would not be everlastingly fighting in the face of what must be. . . .

. . . You have a perfect right to change any law or custom or institution by a strike the same as by a ballot.

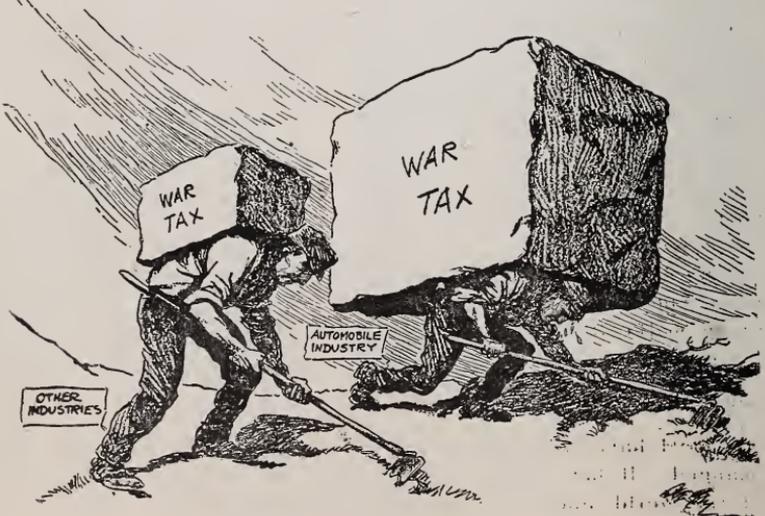
. . . I have the right to urge men not to work until any law is changed. It has been done over and over and over in the history of the world, and it will be done more and more.

NO, YOU DON'T



Morris drew this cartoon after learning of the action of farmer officials in North Dakota in stopping the grain combine from buying wheat at future prices, 30 cents below the prevailing cash price. North Dakota papers friendly to the farmers aided the officials in exposing and preventing the attempted \$6,000,000 steal.

THE DETROIT JOURNAL—MAY 11, 1917



A PECULIAR IDEA OF FAIRNESS

Does man live by the ballot alone? How many of you men are members of unions? Most of you have the eight-hour law. Did you wait to vote to get it? Did you get it by any vote you ever cast? I say no. How did they get the eight-hour day in this country? I have read the history of it. I was present with some of it. I know how it came about. I know it came by workmen laying down their tools and saying, "We will no longer work until we get an eight-hour day."

Let me tell you what happened. After that was over and after the victory was won, then these time-servers, these politicians who make up the legislatures of most of the states of the Union, in order to get the union vote, passed laws making an eight-hour work-day. No law was passed until after the victory was won. . . .

We have now pretty generally an eight-hour working day in America. Some time we will have a shorter one. . . .

There are too many law-makers. There is Congress; the Senate and the President and the Supreme Court and the State Legislatures and another Supreme Court and Lawyers and everybody else to be satisfied before you get it, and you would die before you could vote it to yourself.

That is the way you have got it in the past, and that is the way you will get it in the future.

I don't object to voting. I seldom miss a chance. But there are many things in this world besides voting; many, many things, and voting is a very small part of a man's life, and very, very few are the things he gets from it, but the way these gentlemen talk one would think that all you had to do was to go out and vote.

I could call attention to strike after strike. The French strike, one of the last strikes threatened. The strike of the English miners and railroad men, where they refused to mine coal or haul cars if they were to be used to send troops to Russia. These men had political power. They were voters and they said to Lloyd George: "If you want to send soldiers to Russia, that is trying, after long ages of tyranny, to breathe the free air of men, that is fighting the age-long battles of freedom—if you undertake to send an Englishman, or a pound of coal, we who work deep down in the earth, who dig this coal for the use of men, will refuse longer to work or to run the trains." They did not wait for another election, when they might be swindled or juggled out of something, but they struck and won their fight. . . .

Nothing takes the place of work, of energy, of devotion, of standing for your rights, of individual action. . . . The ballot—it is

UNION RECORD March 9, 1920
"THE SPOILS OF WAR"



\$60 bonus
1 uniform
Unemployment
Destitution
Charity

DISCONTENT

350,000 courtmartial
Profiteering
High cost of living
Compulsory military training
(permanent militarism)
2,000 per cent profit

UNREST

good in its place, but its place is secondary—its place comes after organization; it comes after all the forces that have made us great and that have made us free. . . .

What is "legal freedom"? It is a tricky catch-phrase that has ever been used to enslave men.

My clients are abused because the Communist Labor Party expressed sympathy for the I. W. W. I have read more or less about the Industrial Workers of the World. I know where the newspapers have placed them. They have been so persecuted and condemned that most men in America hesitate to sympathize with them, and yet, gentlemen, they have done a work for a class of workers that no other labor organization could do or ever did do.

They have a right to proselyte, they have the right to their opinion, and to make their opinion heard. That is what I plead for.

LETTER OF INDORSEMENT FROM THEODORE DEBS,
BROTHER OF EUGENE DEBS

Mr. Frank Bonville:

My dear Sir: Please allow me to thank you most warmly for my brother and myself for the two copies of your "What Henry Ford Is Doing," which have just been received in good order. I am unable at this time to get the copy intended for my brother into his hands, as matters of this kind, if sent to the prison, would not be admitted. . . .

A comrade at San Diego had already sent me a copy of your valuable book. . . . I have found it intensely interesting for the reason that it holds so much that is vital; so much that applies to our present economic and industrial life. . . . As a matter of reference it is invaluable.

Thanking you again, and trusting it may have the very widest circulation, I am

Sincerely,

[Signed]

THEODORE DEBS.

JIM FISHER:—The working people will soon have control.

W. EARL FLYNN:—Let us all be our own doctor.



EDSEL FORD
President Ford Motor Company.



WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON



THOMAS PAINE



DANIEL WEBSTER

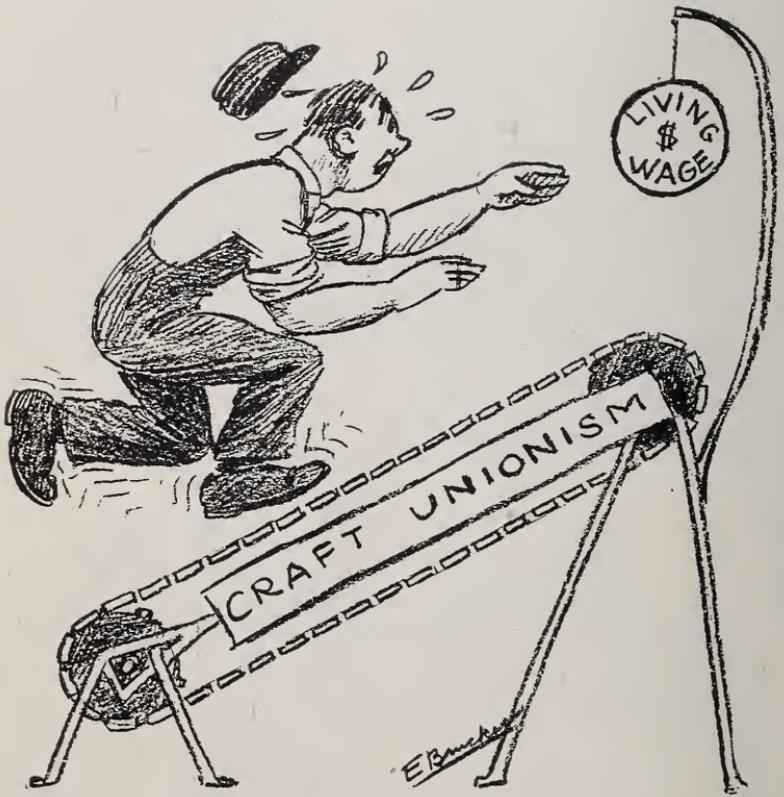
RECOMPENSE

By BERTUCCIO DANTINO

Ye have given up the best hours of the day,
Ye have toiled from the cradle to the grave,
Ye have suffered all the ills of poverty,
Ye have been denied the luxuries of life,
Ye have been cowed and browbeaten by "authority,"
Ye have been slandered and lampooned,
Mocked and imprisoned for asserting your rights,
Deceived and degraded by those you support;
Your wives and daughters made the prey of wolves
In human form who have lied to and cajoled them
Into "white slavery" or have forced them
Into lives of shame for daily bread.

Ye have given wealth to idle drones;
Ye have furnished milady with means
Wherewith she has bought diamond collars
For imported poodles, and given monkey
Dinners to pimps and cadets.
Ye have furnished milord with limousines
And the wherewithal to keep his mistresses
In elegant apartments and swill champagne;
Ye have supplied the wealth that puts yachts
In the hands of the idle spawn of plutocracy—
And what do ye get for it all?
What is thy recompense?

The right to suffer in silence
All the indignities thrust upon you
By thankless parasites that feed upon
Your flesh and blood; that lie about you
And insult you when you demand
Your common rights!
When will ye arise and claim your own,
Your well-earned recompense?



THE ENDLESS CHAIN

LIST OF NAMES OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE
WORLD, SOME OF WHOM HAVE BEEN IN JAIL, OTHERS
ARE IN JAIL, OTHERS OUT ON BOND,
OTHERS INDICTED

These are only a few names of the thousands who are in the same place.

[Taken from the "Labor Defender," May, 1918. Also from a publication named "Truth About the I. W. W.," by Jack Phillips. Most of them taken from the "One Big Union Monthly," March, 1920.]

Ahlteen, Carl	Beesaw, Herbert	Condit, Ernest P.
Avila, John	Bauer, G.	Cadwell, ———
Anderson, C. S.	Beauchamp, S.	Caffrey, John
Anderson, O. B.	Bennett, Geo.	Cage, Robert S.
Azuara, A. V.	Benton, Tom	Cairns, Blair
Ashliegh, Chas.	Berg, E.	Campbell, J. W.
Adams, George	Bergdorff, Ralph	Carey, Ed. S.
Andreytchine, George	Bergland, Aug.	Carlson, Chas.
Albin, Alex.	Beyer, John Henry	Carpenter, A. L.
Adams, S. M.	Bickert, ———	Carr, J.
Andersen, E.	Biddiscomb, Henry	Carroll, Jos.
Aelxander, George	Bjorkman, ———	Cassidy, F. J.
Allen, Wesley	Blaine, Robt.	Cedno, Felix
Allman, ———	Blumberg, A. M.	Chaplin, Ralph H.
Amy, Bill	Boggio, Alex.	Chesley, Guy
Anderson, C. W.	Boh, F.	Christ, Arthur C.
Anderson, Chas.	Botsford, M. E.	Clark, Bill
Anderson, Elmer	Boyd, E. M.	Clark, Joe
Anderson, Henning	Bridges, Wm. T.	Clifford, Chas.
Anderson, Lars	Brodahl, John	Collins, John
Anthony, Miles	Broman, Leonard	Collins, Wm.
Arnold, ———	Brooks, Albert	Common, Arthur
Austin, W. W.	Brown, L. H.	Corella, Vincent
	Brown, Roy A.	Connelly, Tom
Brazier, Richard	Burke, John	Connor, Roy P.
Baskett, J. R.	Burmeister, Alfred	Corder, Raymond
Bourg, G. J.	Burns, Ed	Cournos, Alex.
Brown, Roy	Bussert, P.	Culver, Roger S.
Baldazzi, John	Butts, Charley	Curley, Jack
Blanco, Julio	Buzart, ———	Currey, ———
Boose, Arthur	Byerly, Roy	
Buckley, Dan	Barlow, John	Dembicki, Stanley
Bailey, Geo.	Barr, A. A.	Doran, J. T.
Bennett, Chas.		Davis, C. W.
Beyer, J. H.	Curnos, Alex	Dailey, Pete
Bobba, R. J.	Clark, Stanley	Doree, E. F.
Burch, Jas.	Corder, Ray	Decker, Roy
Babcock, Nathaniel	Culver, R. S.	Derinson, Arthur
Banker, Bert	Cole, McGregor	DeLorenzo, Jas.
Barr, Albert	Cunningham, Ed.	Donahue, Dan
Bates, C. E.	Core, Pedro	Drew, Harry



F. J. DIXON, M. L. A.



REV. WILLIAM IVENS, M. L. A.

Two members of the International Free Trader who opposed war have been arrested and tried for their alleged seditious activities in connection with the Winnipeg Strike.

SOLIDARITY, JUNE 23, 1917



THE I. W. W. IS OPENING THE DOORS—CLOSE THEM IF YOU CAN!

Davis, Jim
 Dymond, John
 Downing, Mortimer
 Diamond, Albert
 Dalrymple, John
 Draves, Fritz
 Devries, J.
 Dailey, Oliver
 Davis, Tom
 Deloff, Vitan
 Dempsey, Roy
 Deneke, W.
 Dicks, Edw. F.
 Dietz, D. S.
 Dirk, Bill
 Diska, Mike
 Dougherty, T. F. G.
 Doyle, Jack
 Drew, Harry
 Dubai, Alex
 Duffy, Jas.
 Duke, Chas.
 Dupree, ———

Elliott, Jas.
 Edwards, Forrest
 Evans, Henry
 Esmond, Frederick
 Eitor, Jos. J.
 Eastman, Phineas
 Eder, A.
 Eisner, Otto
 Ellison, ———
 Embree, A. S.
 Enright, Amos
 Erickson, Svan
 Erickson, Earl
 Extell, J. J.

Fraser, Ted
 Friedkin, Meyer
 Foss, J. M.
 Fanning, Ray
 Fletcher, Benj.
 Ford, J. D.
 Forbes, Sam
 Fox, A. L.
 Faust, W. H.
 Farmer, Steele
 Fabio, B. E.
 Foley, Joe
 Flynn, Elizabeth G.
 Fisher, Sam
 Fishbein, J.
 Farnner, Henry
 Fitzwilliams, Michael

Fleury, Frank
 Ford, Wm.
 Fox, A. L.
 Francik, Wncil
 Franzen, Jacob
 Graber, Joe
 George, Harrison
 Griffin, C. R.
 Green, P.
 Gresback, Jos.
 Garner, Joe
 Gibson, Chas.
 Gordon, O. E.
 Gossard, Jim
 Grave, John
 Grove, Wm.
 Giesberg, Otto
 Giltner, H. A.
 Goulder, Fred
 Garcia, Chas.
 Gordon, Jos.
 Gaveel, Jack
 Giovannitti, Arturo

Gilday, Jas.
 Gallagher, F. J.
 Gavin, Wm.
 Gehrige, H.
 Gergots, Louis J.
 Gilbertson, Reidar
 Gilloran, Pat
 Glauzman, ———
 Gourland, W. A.
 Grady, John
 Grau, Fred
 Graves, L.
 Gresback, Joe
 Griffith, J. A.
 Groener, ———
 Gross, Lawrence
 Guiney, Neal
 Guldahl, Adolph

Hamilton, Edw.
 Haight, Harrison
 Hardy, Geo.
 Higgins, Peter
 Haywood, Wm. D.
 Huber, E.
 Hecht, M.
 Hendrickson, Simon
 Hibbard, Ed.
 Hinglbui, John
 Hunter, Ira H.
 Hood, Wm.
 Harpen, Jos.

Haney, Geo.
 Hough, Clyde
 Humphrey, F.
 Hall, W. E.
 Haney, Geo.
 Hanson, ———
 Harris, Henry
 Hawkins, T. E.
 Healey, ———
 Hecht, Morris
 Heitmiller, E. A.
 Helms, H.
 Helt, F.
 Henricson, Gus
 Herd, H. E.
 Herman, F.
 Hibbard, Edw.
 Hicok, S. B.
 Hirschberg, Walter
 Hoffman, ———
 Hoffman, J.
 Hofstede, E.
 Holm, Carl
 Horn, ———
 Houghton, John
 Houn, M.
 Hughes, Wm.

Ingar, Dave

Jacobs, Ches.
 Jaakkola, Fred
 Justh, Otto
 Johanson, Ragnar
 Jacobson, Chas.
 Jones, J. E.
 Johnson, Frank
 Jones, C. A.
 Jacobs, Carl
 Jacobs, ———
 Jenkins, Thos. A.
 Joacson, John
 Johnson, Alarick
 Johnson, Chas.
 Johnson, David
 Johnson, Fred
 Johnson, J. S.
 Johnson, J. W.
 Jones, Hayes
 Jones, John
 Jones, L. M.

Keanan, J.
 Kane, H. J.
 Kerkonen, Peter
 Kratspiger, Chas.



AND SHE CAME SO WELL RECOMMENDED, TOO!

Kurinsky, Phil
Kornuk, Wm.
Klein, Ben
Kimball, A. P.
Kaciemeyer, ——
Kadjin, ——
Kappen, Frank
Keeler, ——
Kelley, W. O.
Kelliher, Dennie
Kelly, J.
Kennedy, Jos.
Kiefer, ——
Killen, Olan
Kircher, W.
Kirkby, Carl
Klabo, H.
Kobak, Joe
Kobler, ——
Koenig, Chas.
Kolke, T.
Koloch, ——
Kopp, Geo.
Korner, R.
Kosa, ——
Kramer, Frank
Krieger, Chas.
Kruber, ——

Lorton, Bert
Lloyd, Harry
Lewis, W. H.
Lambert, Chas.
Levine, Morris
Lossieff, V.
Law, Jack
Laukki, Leo
Lancaster, Ar'ell
Latchem, E. W.
Lambert, Ray
Lyons, V. W.
Little, W. F.
Long, Geo.
Lanikos, ——
La Casale, Nickola
Lambert, R. A.
Lang, Victor
Latche, E. W.
Lassi, Robt.
Lewis, A. R.
Lind, Gus
Lipscomb, W. H.
Lukla, Matt
Lund, Fred
McCusham, E. J.

MacKinnon, Chas.
McCarty, Joe
Moran, W.
Marlott, W. G.
Mahler, Herbert
McWhirt, Chas.
McEvoy, Peter
Manning, J.
Mattingly, Wm.
McDonald, J. A.
Miller, Francis
McCarl, Harry
Monahan, Pat
Murphy, Sam
Martin, Ed.
Meyer, Otto
Mulrooney, Jas. H.
Miller, W. L.
Moran, Frank
Meyers, Fred
Mason, Tom
Murphy, John Doe
Munson, H. H.
Mowes, ——
Marlatt, N. G.
Martinez, A.
Martin, John
Mattson, Edw.
Mattingly, W. E.
Miller, Francis
McCarthy, Joe
McWhirt, Chas.
McGuckin, H. E.
McEvoy, Peter
McCutcheson, Herbert
MacKinnon, Chas. H.
McDonald, J. A.
McDonald, Geo.
Madison, Nels
Maihak, Paul
Maki, Sandor
Manning, Jas.
Mara, E. J.
Marhoff, ——
Marhow, Golf S.
Martin, Frank J.
Martin, Joe
Martin, Pete
Mason, Albert
Matson, ——
Mathson, Matt
McAvoy, John
McCarthy, Dennis
McLeod, Roy
McDonald, E. E.
McDougahl, John

McKenzie, Jas.
McKensie, Wm. D.
McMurphy, J. J.
McNicoll, E.
McQuilian, Pat
Meade, W. E.
—— H. D.
Mee, Paddy
Milia, Lorenza
Miama, Chas.
Miller, ——
Miller, F.
Miller, Fred
Miller, G.
Miller, H.
Miller, Louis
Milosh, Mike
Mische, Louis
Montgomery, Curley
Montgomery, E. L.
Moore, Lyman
Moran, Frank
Moran, Wm.
Morgan, Fred
Mulroomey, Jas. H.
Mundy, P.
Mundey, Pete
Murphy, Joe
Murphy, Jim
Murray, Bernard
Murray, Dan
Nelson, Fred
Nigra, Pietro
Nef, W. T.
Nielson, John N.
Nerat, John
Nolan, Jas.
Numcoff, Geo.
Nelson, W. N.
Nelson, ——
Nolan, ——
Normi, Nestor
Oates, J.
O'Hair, J. V.
O'Day, Thos.
O'Brien, John
O'Brien, J. L.
O'Connor, Harvey
Olsen, Chas.
Olsen, E. L.
Ostrum, Eric
Pahjola, A.
Pancner, John



ERRICO MALATESTA

Leader of the Syndicalist-Anarchist branch of the Italian Labor Movement. It was his influence which persuaded half a million metal workers to occupy and operate their factories.



ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

Miss Flynn was first brought into the public eye at 15 in the East Side labor agitation in New York City in 1892. She was arrested for speaking to laborers in the street.

Parenti, Louis
Parson, John
Pasewalk, Walter
Paterson, John
Patterson, John
Patton, Frank
Paul, Dan
Perich, John
Perry, Grover H.
Peterson, Wm.
Phelan, J. B.
Phillips, Jas.
Pierog, ——
Pika, Paul
Plahn, Chas.
Poe, Robt.
Pollock, Theodora
Prashner, Albert B.
Price, Js.
Pujol, J.
Parenti, Paul
Person, John
Panovich, Nick
Preston, W. W.

Quinn, Mike

Rey, Manuel
Rice, C. H.
Rowan, Jas.
Rodriguez, A.
Reeder, Wm.
Roberts, Glenn
Rothfisher, Chas.
Ross, Tom
Ruby, Joe
Roe, Robt.
Riley, Frank
Ryan, Geo.
Ritter, Fred C.
Reiley, Frank
Russell, Frank
Rogers, J. E.
Reed, Herman
Rowan, Ed.
Radunz, H.
Randall, ——
Rantio, Ernest
Ratti, Jos.
Ray, Wm.
Reed, Henry
Regan, Joe
Regan, Robt.
Reilly, Frank
Reisier, Theodore
Robey, Jack

Robinson, Edgar
Rovinson, Sam
Rudolph, Axel
Russell, L. C.
Rustemann, ——
Ryan, J. F.
Ryan, Jas.
Ryan, Jos.

Saffores, Basile
Salv, Tom
Sample, Roy
Sandberg, W.
Santelli, Vincent
Sapper, Michael
Sarrazin, Emery
Scarlett, Sam
Schmidt, Otto
Schmucker, Wm.
Schnell, Carl
Schneider, F.
Schoenberger, C.
Schrager, Ben
Schwandt, ——
Scott, Robt.
Scott, Thos.
Seidler, P.
Shannon, Ed.
Selzer, Jos.
Shea, John
Shepherd, Chris
Sheridan, Don
Sherman, N. E.
Shuren, Stephen
Sihto, Jack
Simpson, Jas.
Sinclair, Archie
Slovick, Jas.
Smith, Arthur J.
Smith, Bernard
Smith, C. L.
Smith, Eugene
Smith, Joe
Smith, M. J.
Smith, R.
Smith, Walker C.
Smith, Walter
Solan, ——
Sontag, Carl
Soper, Anton E.
Spanberg, A.
Spealman, Frank
Speed, Geo.
Stangeland, Albert
Stark, Leo
Stenberg, Siegfried

Stephens, Jos.
Stevens, W. K.
St. John, Vincent
Stolke, T.
Strang, Warner
Strom, Geo.
Strom, Walter
Struber, ——
Sullivan, Frank
Sullivan, Mike
Swanson, Oscar
Swenson, Alik
Schmidt, Jos.
Shorey, Wm.
Schram, Abe
Sullivan, J. P.
Shurrin, S.
Santilli, Vincent
Seine, E.

Turner, J. I.
Trotter, Harry
Thompson, Jas. P.
Tanner, Wm.
Travis, Frank
Tori, Louis
Tresca, Carlo
Taylor, ——
Thompson, M. A.
Tynick, P.

Usapiet, Joe

Voetter, Geo. R.

Westerlund, Frank
Wetter, P. C.
Walsh, Jack
Wegh, Wm.
Wallberg, John
Wolski, Walter
Wallace, A. A.
Whitehead, Albert
Weinberg, Julius
Williams, Ben H.
Wright, R. J.
Weyh, Wm.
Wertola, Wm.
Waggemann, ——
Walden, Tom
Wallace, Nick
Wallberg, John
Ward, Jim
Ward, W. T.
Weiland, C.
Weir, Robt.



ED NOLAN



LEO TOLSTOI



HERBERT SPENCER



**Robert Williams, General Secretary of
the British Transport Workers**

Welton, E. M.
Wenger, Geo.
Westphal, John
Whitehead, Ed.
Wiertola, Wm.
Williams, Sam
Williamson, Geo.

Wilson, Allen
Wilson, J. W.
Wilson, Robt.
Wilson, Wesley
Winski, Geo.
Witter, _____
Woelfle, John

Wolski, Walter
Wright, Jack
Yarlott, Geo. R.
Young, Ira
Zumpano, S.
Zupan, F.

Gold Beach, Ore., April 7, 1920.

Dear Friend: I wish to acknowledge receipt of a copy of your book, "What Henry Ford Is Doing," and to express my appreciation both of the contents and general appearance of the volume. It is real "nifty" looking, is admirably compiled, and contains enough food for thought to last the ordinary mortal a lifetime. As a sometimes student of social conditions, I wish to thank you for the pains you have taken in gathering and arranging the material contained in the work.

. . . I must confess I had begun to fear that short-sighted officials might have proven so blind as to deny your book to the mails. I am glad I was mistaken about that, and I gracefully apologize to Uncle Sam's postoffice inspectors who might have been the guilty parties. . . . You and other men like you are to be congratulated that you are contributing sounding blows towards the shaping of the key which is to unlock humanity's fetters and open the storehouse of nature's riches to the deserving.

Sincerely your friend,

[Signed]

J. O. STEARNS, Jr.

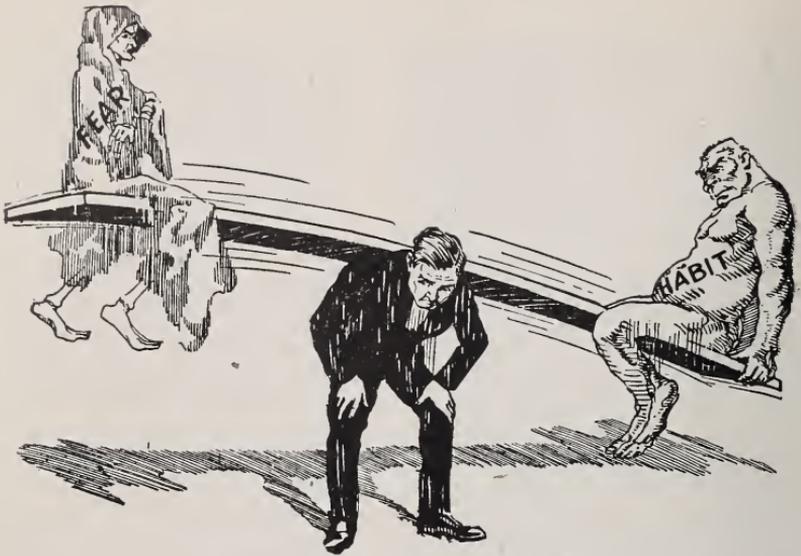
Hyder, Alaska, June 15, 1920.

My dear Mr. Bonville: . . . I want to tell you how much enjoyment I have gotten out of your book, "What Henry Ford Is Doing." What a pity it is that so many of the working class have the psychology of a parasite. . . . Therefore, the great work for all lovers of liberty is to try to change that psychology by inducing as many of their fellow workmen and women as possible to read such books as "What Henry Ford Is Doing," "Red Europe," by Frank Ansley, M. P., Australia, "The Brass Check," by Upton Sinclair, etc.

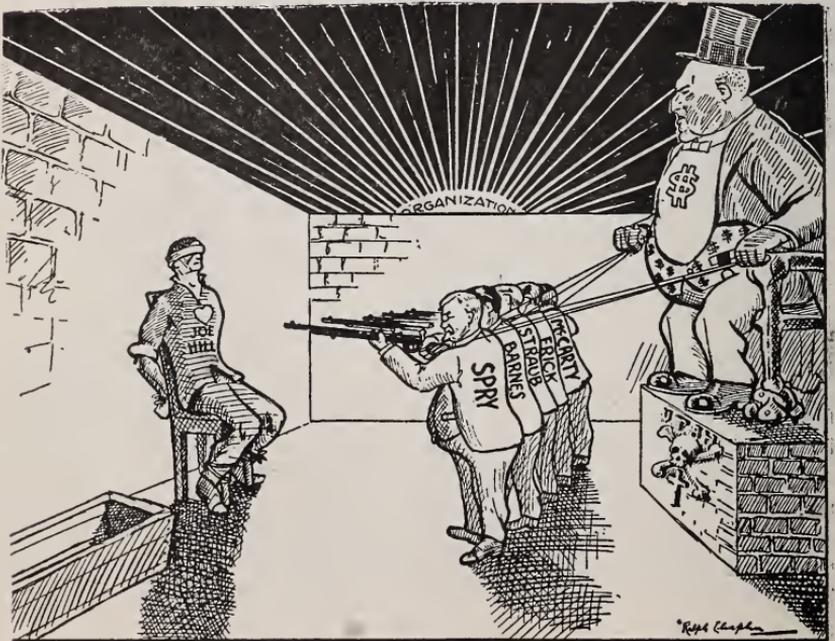
Yours,

[Signed]

E. A. BURPEE.



HE LETS THESE BUGABOOS RIDE HIM



Ripley Clapham

—From Solidarity.

A VICTIM OF MAMMON

“FORD AND HIS PEACE SHIP”

By FRANK BONVILLE

“Henry Ford is a traitor and a mountebank. He is a traitor to his class, for he has betrayed them to the working people by bribes of higher wages and better working conditions than legitimate industry is able to concede. That he is a mountebank, and a supremely egotistical one at that, he has shown time and again by his lurid and shameless methods of self-advertising.

“Of that method his so-called ‘Peace Ship’ is perhaps the most startling example. Everybody on the ‘inside’ knows that that expedition was conceived and executed, not with the slightest expectation of bringing the war to a close, but solely to advertise the man and his wares.”

The above quoted speech, recently uttered in a sneering tone by a journalistic acquaintance of mine, with a penchant for stocks and bonds and an aversion for overalls and calloused hands, probably epitomizes the sentiment existing towards Henry Ford in those choice circles where conversation is chiefly of money, how to keep money—and of how to worst and ruin those who would disturb them in their manners and methods of planting and reaping the golden harvests. Indeed, I venture to assert positively, at the risk of seeming dogmatic, that the viewpoint of my friend the journalist concerning Henry Ford and his “Peace Ship” is the viewpoint of ninety-nine per cent of the so-called capitalistic class.

They ridicule him. They blackguard him. Not because they believe him insincere. Not because they despise him. But because they fear him. And as the months lengthen into years, they will grow to fear him more and more.

We are still too close to the awful cataclysm of the late war to see it clearly in all its monstrous proportions. As it recedes from us with the passage of time, we shall gain a perspective, then we shall begin to realize how mad, how utterly brutish, was that saturnalia of blood and tears.

In some fifty thousand American homes there hangs a service flag bearing upon its field of blue a star of gold, a star sacred to the memory of some beloved youth who gave his life upon the battle-fields of Europe—a sacrifice upon the altar of his country, yes, but also a sacrifice upon the altar of the grim God of War; a sacrifice which might have been averted had but a small percentage of



WARREN K. BILLINGS

THOMAS J. MOONEY

Who are serving life-time sentences. Not only the workers of this country, but workers all over the world know why these men are in prison, or at least they ought to.



RICHARD FORD



HERMAN SUHR

Ford and Suhr are in prison for life. They were arrested at Wheatland, California, on August 4, and were held in the Marysville jail until the last week of September without permission to see a single friend.

the millionaires and multimillionaires of the world cried out in concert with Henry Ford:

“Enough of slaughter! This war must cease! Our boys must come out of the trenches by Christmas!”

But Henry Ford stood alone, in so far as those who control the destinies of industry—and therefore of the world—are concerned. If any among them sympathized with him in the innermost chambers of his heart, such an one was too cowardly to speak, but shrank behind his bulwarks of gold and watched the dance of death go merrily on.

No! Henry Ford and his “Peace Ship” will not be forgotten either by the world at large or by that comparatively small class of privileged persons whom the world is fond of referring to as Captains of Industry.

More and more it must be borne in upon the thinkers of the world, in high places as well as in low, that when Henry Ford set sail for Europe with his peace expedition he embarked upon a tremendously practical as well as tremendously humane project. In the face of adverse criticism on the part of a press subsidized by outraged capital he seemed to fail, yet he did not fail. For he planted the seeds of a tree of brotherly love and forbearance that must and will bear fruit in the fullness of time, when the harvest season draws near.

Henry Ford, the blessed “impractical visionary,” the man of genius who loves his fellow men constructively and aggressively, will hold a place in the future of the race that will shine as a mighty star of righteousness, a light of peace to good men, a searing flame of torment to that breed of men who would live out of the sweat of another’s brow.

UNITED STATES SENATE

21st July, 1919.

Mr. Frank Bonville, Box 432, Seattle, Wash.

Dear Sir: Thank you for your letter of July 11th. I hardly need to assure you of my sympathetic interest and that I shall always be pleased to be advised as to the progress you are making.

Very truly yours,

[Signed]

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.



PARLEY PARKER CHRISTENSEN

FRIGHTFUL CRUELTY CHARGED TO BRITISH

[Union Record, Seattle, Dec. 8, 1920.]

Captain E. L. Macnaghton told an audience how Irish people were thrown in flames and suspended with hooks through their jaws until they died by British army officers because they refused to betray their compatriots. . . . Captain Macnaghton served through the war in the British army. He came to America to contradict the lies about persecution of the Protestants by the Catholics and the loyalism of Ulstermen towards England. "When we went to fight during the war it was not for England, but for the principle of freedom. We thought it impossible for England not to free Ireland after having claimed all over the world that England fought to free Belgium.

"The only question we have for England is: 'When will you withdraw your soldiers?'

"England is anxious that the world should think that the protection of Protestants is the reason of her policy. This is one of the lowest lies ever invented in history," said Macnaghton.

"England took up the weapon of religious hate, following the principle of 'divide and conquer.' The hate against Catholics existing in the northeast of Ireland is an artificial thing. . . .

"England is claiming that the Irish question does not concern the rest of the world. How can it be? America lost 60,000 soldiers on the fields of Flanders to free the world, and where is the freedom America fought for? You say, 'America for the Americans,' and why not Ireland for the Irish and India for the Indians? We are asking your help against the tyranny of England, as three years ago the allies asked your help against Germany."

Dr. N. S. Hardiker, editor of "Young India," told about persecution and atrocities in India, and asked America's help to free India from English tyranny.

115 Broadway, New York City, May 7, 1920.

Bureau of Information, P. O. Box 432, Seattle, Washington.

Dear Sirs: Mr. Hoover has asked me to thank you for your kindness in sending him a copy of your book, "What Henry Ford Is Doing."

Sincerely yours,

[Signed]

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER, Sec. to Mr. Hoover.



EUGENE V. DEBS

Starting upon his journey to Prison, from Cleveland,
Ohio, April 13, 1919.

[British Columbia Federationist, Nov. 21, 1919.]

Centralia, Wash.—Dr. Frank Bickford testified that the door of the I. W. W. hall was forced open by participants in the parade before the shooting began through the doorway. . . . Dr. Bickford said he was immediately in front of the I. W. W. hall at the time and that during a temporary halt someone suggested a raid on the hall.

The fact that the man lynched by the mob, and who was thought to be Britt Smith, secretary of the I. W. W. local, was in reality Wesley Everest, a returned soldier, has been established.

“The I. W. W. in Centralia, Wash., who fired upon the men that were attempting to raid the I. W. W. headquarters were fully justified in their act,” said Edward Bassett, commander of the Butte Post of the American Legion, when asked his opinion of the Armistice Day riots, which resulted fatally for four of the attacking party and one of the defenders.

“Mob rule in this country must be stopped,” continued Mr. Bassett, “and when mobs attack the home of a millionaire, of a laborer, or of the I. W. W., it is not only the right but the duty of the occupants to resist with every means in their power. If the officers of the law cannot stop these raids, perhaps the resistance of the raid victims may have that effect.

“Whether the I. W. W. is a meritorious organization or not, whether it is unpopular or otherwise, should have absolutely nothing to do with the case. The reports of the evidence at the coroner’s inquest show that the attack was made before the firing started. If that is true, I commend the boys inside for the action that they took.”

THE FEDERATED PRESS

August 21, 1920.

Bureau of Information, Seattle, Washington.

Dear Sirs: I have just run across a copy of Frank Bonville’s book on Henry Ford. It is a gratifying compilation of facts which the public ought to know. . . . We are now serving more than 100 labor papers in the United States and Canada.

Truly yours,

[Signed] JOHN NICHOLAS BEFFEL, Acting News Ed.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER
SEATTLE, WASH., DECEMBER 11, 1920.

THE JOY OF THE JIPPO



JAPANESE AND CHINESE QUESTION

By Wm. R. Anderson

We have no quarrel with the Japs, Chinese or colored people, or, in fact, with the people of any foreign country. The capitalists would like to make us believe at times that we have, but this, in my opinion, is one of their many schemes to endeavor to keep the workers of the world divided. That is why the Jap proposition is given so much publicity by the subsidized press.

We, as workers, more than welcome our little "Brown Brothers," and we are proud to learn that they understand the value of solidarity and that an injury to one worker is an injury to all.

The capitalists were in favor of the importation of Japs, Chinese, etc., when they were able to use them to their advantage, but since the Orientals have familiarized themselves with the program of the workers, it has changed the situation to such an extent that a race war would be probable providing the capitalists were able to control the matter.

The solidarity of the workers will settle this question.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Graduate School of Business Administration

Cambridge, Mass., July 30, 1920.

Mr. Frank Bonville, Seattle, Washington.

Dear Sir: We are in receipt of a copy of your book, "What Henry Ford Is Doing," which you kindly sent us in response to our request. . . .

We shall place the material on the open shelves of the Library.

Very truly yours,

[Signed]

CECIL A. ROSS, Supt. of Special Library.

Mead, Wash., March 16, 1920.

Dear Sir: The book received last evening. "What Henry Ford Is Doing." I am greatly surprised in your book and will see if I can help to sell it. So far as I can see, it is one of great interest to the working people.

JOHN C. NEFF.



JUKOW

**First Chairman of the Bolshevik
Revolutionary Tribunal.**



FRANCIS J. HENEY



DR. C. H. CHAPMAN



KARL LIEBKNECHT

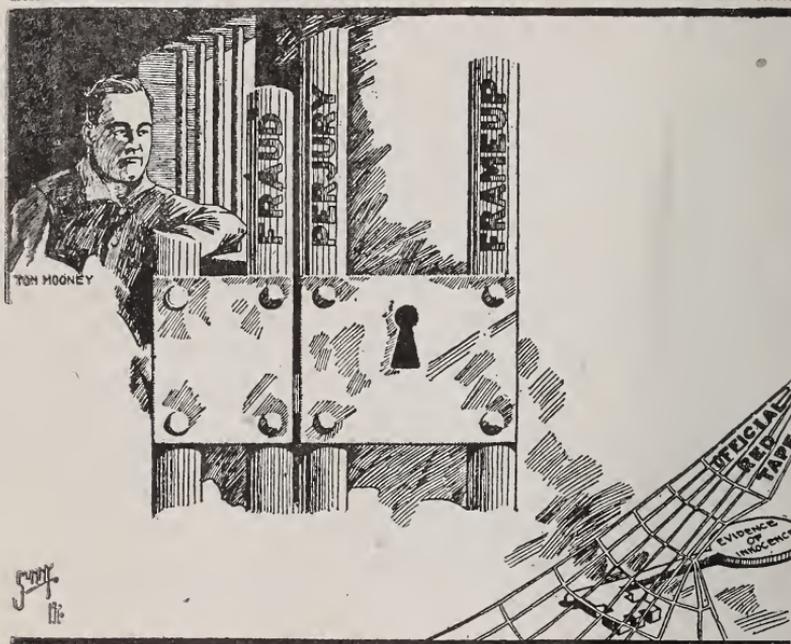
FIRST AMERICANS WERE BOLSHEVISTS

By LYNN A. E. GALE

With Thomas Faine I believe: "The world is my country; to do good my religion." . . . My duty to America is best obeyed by loyalty to its workers, not loyalty to Wall Street murder. I can prove to you that the founders of the United States were semi-Bolshevists who in several cases caught glimpses of the same economic system that we Communists today advocate. . . . Do you know that the Declaration of Independence not only recognized the right of people to change their government, but to abolish it, and that it said nothing about complying with existing "law and order"? If you don't, hunt up the Declaration and read this over again and see what good Bolshevists Thomas Jefferson and his associates were: "All men are created equal . . . with certain inalienable rights, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. . . . To secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. When any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government. . . . When a long train of abuses and usurpations . . . evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security."

Do you know that Benjamin Franklin, at the time of the adoption of the American flag, expressed the hope that the day would come when nations would be obliterated and there would be a star in that flag for every country. Do you know that the Red Flag of Communism and International Brotherhood, which is cursed and vilified in every state in the American Union today, and whose exhibition is a crime in most of the states, was the first flag that the "Bolshevists" of 1776 ever had? . . . The American Revolution shows full well how the "rebels" of '76 defied the government and laws of King George. . . . We don't want violence and we are doing all we can to avoid it. But do you think the owners of the wealth of America are going to surrender to the rising tide of Industrial Democracy peacefully? If Wall Street won't let a Socialist sit in Congress or in the New York Legislature, is anybody fool enough to think it will let the Socialists place a majority of their men in Congress or a President in the White House? . . . Unless things take a sudden and different turn in the United States mighty soon, the country is headed direct to bloody revolution—bloody revolution which radicals tried to avert and are not responsible for, but which is due entirely and solely to the blind, unreasoning tyranny and stupidity of American capitalism.

WILL GOV. STEPHENS BREAK THE WEB?



February 18, 1920.

Mr. Frank Bonville.

Dear Friend: I have just received a copy of your great book, "What Henry Ford Is Doing." Please accept my hearty congratulations for this greatest piece of propaganda that has been produced in the last fifty years,

Yours sincerely,

[Signed]

J. SCHAFFER.

335 6th St., San Diego.

TO DISTRACT ATTENTION

[Gale's Magazine, January, 1920.]

I. W. W. Official Bulletin, Butte, Mont., U. S. A.—The oil barons and other exploiters of the riches of Mexico are at the same little game they have tried several times before. They are trying to stir up a war with Mexico so that they can follow up the invading army with their agents to steal and grab the natural resources of that country that are not already within their clutches. They would like another slaughterfest of this kind to draw the workers' attention away from their own class war with the masters, and have an excuse for keeping a large standing army ever ready to shoot down the workers when they revolt against unbearable conditions in the industries.

I. W. W. Not "Enemy" of Government.

The I. W. W. is not an anti-government organization. The I. W. W. does not advocate the overthrow of political governments. It devotes all its time and energies in organizing the workers on the industrial field with but the one object in view—the capture of the industries by the workers, to be run for the workers. Industry has been stolen from the workers and its ownership is centralized in the hands of a few industrial overlords. The I. W. W. will organize all the workers within these industries and take back what has been stolen from them and run industry so that the workers on every job will have the full product of their toil. Our bourgeois opponents say that industry and political government under the present system are separate, the political government being in no way controlled by the owners of industry; therefore, they cannot consistently say that the capture of the stolen industries by the workers means an overthrow of political government.

Mr. Frank Bonville, Seattle, Washington.

Your book received, and am passing it around among the boys here. Some of them say it is the best they ever got hold of. . . . The future will never find me without a copy of it.

It is invaluable as a reference book, and unexcelled in the collection of thought gems it contains from the greatest thinkers of our day.

Very truly yours,

[Signed]

GUY E. FULLER.



E. A. BRADBURY, M. D.

Baintree, Vt., April 2, 1920.

Bureau of Information, Seattle, Washington.

Gentlemen: Yours of March 23d is at hand. Will say both copies of the book are received. I have sent one copy to my son. . . . Will say right here you have my approval of the book in every way. Think a copy ought to be in every home in our country.

Yours sincerely,

[Signed]

E. A. BRADBURY.

[The Public, September 13, 1919.]

The jailing of I. W. W. members in Kansas under the Espionage Act is bringing to light the fact that the soul-deadening effect of the law's delay is increased by the nerve-racking strain of indecent prisons. According to the report of Winthrop D. Lane in "The Survey," the Federal prisoners in Kansas jails have not only been held nearly two years without trial, but they have been confined in jails that have undermined the health of the men. It has been the boast of English law that a man is innocent until he has been proven guilty. Yet men have been arrested on suspicion, thrown into jail, and made to suffer all the pain of prison punishment, and at the long-delayed trial have been declared innocent. True, an attempt has been made to avoid this by admitting the accused to bail until conviction, but the terms of bail are such that though easily met by those having property-owning friends, they are unavailable for those whose friends are poor. Thus, a rich man, though the veriest scoundrel, is given his liberty pending trial, while the poor man, though the soul of honor, may languish in prison. The experience of the government political prisoners calls for a remedy that will admit something besides property as surety for the accused. And pending this relief the prisoners should have a speedy trial and decent internment. The purpose of the law is not revenge, but to prevent repetition of the offense. A man who believes the laws of this country are for the benefit of the rich, and that the only relief lies in revolution, is apt to be confirmed in that belief by the experience of the political prisoners in Kansas jails.

By O. A. STENER

Capitalism is nearing its end. Its deficits and contradictions are too numerous to mention. One cannot deny that this is true. In the past six years capitalism has brought about the death of 30,000,000 people, and material and money expenditures and property destroyed mount to the value of \$360,000,000,000.

The capitalist society is aflame with greed, crime, vice, prostitution, fraud, graft, disease and meanness, but there is more to come before it shall come to pass as prophesied by the lowly Jew before he was nailed to the cross for speaking the truth. There shall come a new society. By it there shall be peace on earth and good will to men, where love, health, work and happiness will go hand in hand. Poverty, fear and want shall be no more, but, crowned by the Light of Reason and Knowledge, mankind shall at last be free to enjoy the full products of his labor.



LENIN

Montesano, Wash., April 16, 1920.

Dear Sir: Have received the book, "What Henry Ford Is Doing." It is the greatest book ever printed, and will free the human race if they will only study it. . . .

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

[Signed]

BRITT SMITH,
c/o Sheriff's Office.

THE SOVIET BEAR GROWLS

The recent action of the Soviet Government in recalling its representative from the United States and withdrawing its commercial concessions because of the perpetual calumny directed against the Bolsheviki, climaxing with the order of deportation and the countless insults to a proud and free nation, is a wise move that will have profound effects hereafter.

Nothing in logic or so-called Holy Writ makes such an appeal to the American capitalist or scissorbill as a gentle prick in pocketbook. The slave-driver of workmen in the New England factory, the manufacturer of unfortunate flesh and blood into convict servitude in Southern states, the industrial strangler of men in coal and steel plants, the petty and mean miser who calls himself an honest farmer in many parts of the country,—in fine, all the pretended patriots for price who are behind the persecution, torture and murder of I. W. W. thinkers, may now probably be brought to read from the book of reason by the Russian policy of turning some of their economic pressure against them.

Appeals to reason having failed when coupled only with the abstract doctrines of liberty and justice, inquiries that demonstrated the infamy of the big and small-fry capitalist system having been answered by anti-red and syndicalism laws, attempts by the I. W. W. to educate men to a realization of truth and equity in this country have been met merely by jails and the gallows, the grandest revolution in human history,—that of the Bolsheviki,—having after almost infinite patience of its leaders, against a policy of paid libel and slander, received the intolerable insult of a deportation order of its chosen representative,—the hour of retaliation and assertion of self-respect at last came, and the mighty Russian Bear emitted a low but significant growl—a mere preliminary to the sweep of his irresistible paws hereafter if the program of persecution, hatred and lying continues in this country.

Let us hope, however faintly, that the big gorilla of capitalism and the small scissorbill ape will realize that even his profits must be obtained with at least some pretension of a recent respect for the opinions of free mankind.

There is not much hope, perhaps, as yet, but the Russian policy is beyond doubt the beginning, the first flash of a sword unsheathed by necessity and only to be returned to the scabbard bright with liberty and jeweled by justice.

—[VOLTAIRE II.]



BERTUCCIO DANTINO



SEN KATAYAMA

Who is telling the truth about the capitalists in Japan in Gale's Magazine.



BISHOP E. J. O'DEA says:

"Ireland is now fighting for her freedom, as America fought for hers 130 years ago. No people on earth suffered so much for freedom as the sons and daughters of Ireland. We must sympathize with the Irish cause because it is a cause of freedom. A man who is not in his heart with a cause of this kind is not a true American. We demand respectfully but firmly from our government to recognize the Irish republic and we demand it not as a favor but as a right."

THE CRIME OF POVERTY

By HENRY GEORGE

[From "Everyman" for January, 1917.]

The thing of things that I should like to show you is that poverty is a crime. I do not mean that it is a crime to be poor. Murder is a crime; but it is not a crime to be murdered. . . .

A woman comes into the world for every man; and for every man who lives a single life, caring only for himself, there is some woman who is deprived of her natural supporter. . . . And it seems to me clear that the great majority of those who suffer from poverty are poor, not from their own particular faults, but because of conditions imposed by society at large. Therefore, I hold that poverty is a crime—not an individual crime, but a social crime; a crime for which we all, poor as well as rich, are responsible. . . .

I hold, and I think no one who looks at the facts can fail to see, that poverty is utterly unnecessary. . . . No man, I think, ever saw a herd of buffalo of which a few were fat and the great majority lean. No man ever saw a flock of birds of which two or three were swimming in grease and the other all skin and bone. Nor in savage life is there anything like the poverty that festers in our civilization. . . .

Think how invention enables us to do with the power of one man what not long ago could not be done by the power of a thousand. . . . And yet we have only begun to invent and discover. . . .

So, in every direction, energy that we might utilize goes to waste.

TO EUGENE DEBS

[Imprisoned for his opposition to war and conscription of American Youth.]

He knew, so nobly dared to speak the truth:
What sinister conspiracy of lies
Circles the cradle and surrounds the youth
To dim the halo of a bright sunrise!
He knew his jail would prove a nation's shame,
That voiceless liberty would keep his name;
Justice,—greater than government or mob,—
Still holds the splendor of her glorious flame,
And him of his proud rectitude no court could rob.

—(Voltaire II.)



Col. Robt. G. Ingersoll's Forty-Four Lectures

COMPLETE—CLOTH BOUND

A standard volume, worth \$2.50, which I offer Crucible readers for only \$1.00, postage prepaid by me. Just think of it! 420 pages, each 6x9, large type, cloth bound, aluminum stamped, with portrait of author, FOR ONLY \$1.00 PREPAID.

Col. Ingersoll's work in the lecture field will last for all time. Though we may differ with him in his doctrines, all will admit the brilliancy of his great mind, and are spell-bound with the beauty of his word pictures. He was one of the world's greatest orators, and this great book will live forever.

THE FORD INTERNATIONAL WEEKLY - Oct. 4, 1919.

The Ford International Weekly

Crippled Soldier Begs on Streets

WHEN this soldier left home for the war, all the folks went down to the village station, and the boys cheered and the girls cried, and the president of the town council made a speech in which he said that the country owed the soldiers everything, and that nothing would be too good for the soldier when he returned. And all the people cheered in confirmation of the pledge. They meant it, too. There were times in 1917 when people would have done anything for the soldiers—no sacrifice would have been too great.

Well, this soldier went away and joined the Sixth Regiment of Marines. He trained and he worked, he stifled his loneliness and subdued his fears, he mastered his terrible technique of his grim work.

And then he went overseas. In swift succession came Brest, a training area behind the front, a period of duty in a quiet sector. Then one flaming day came Belleau Wood, and when night fell this soldier lay prone on the ground, his left leg blown off. After seemingly interminable hours the stretcher-bearers carried him away, and then succeeded after scores of sufferings—a dressing station in a damp cave, a mad and torturing ambulance ride over deeply rutted roads, a field hospital. Then came a crowded train of the wounded, and last of all a base hospital where the weeks and months of convalescence seemed harder than the work of the battlefields.

Surely he had deserted well of his country, this boy who had given all but his life. How often the parting words of his friends must have sounded assuringly in his ears. Yet here he is, practically a beggar on the streets. Discharged from the service he found himself unable

to get work at a wage that would support him. Great talk about government relief and vocational training and other delightful things, but nothing tangible. So, knowing in his heart that his service had been costly



Int. Film Service

and honorable, knowing that his country did owe him something, he sank his pride in the depths of his need and went out to the corner of 34th street and Fifth Avenue, New York, to earn his living.

This soldier is a rebuke and a challenge. Dispatches tell us that all the German wounded have disappeared from the streets of German cities. They are no longer compelled either to loaf or beg. How long will it be before we can say that of the United States?

WHERE, OH WHERE CAN THE PUBLIC BE?

By HARSTON PETERS

There is somebody in this country being terribly misrepresented, and that somebody is the public. Since the first organized body of workers went on strike in this country, the capitalist press has tried to classify that part of the population which was not on strike as "the public".

Years ago when the teamsters in Chicago went on strike the press declared that if the strikers did win the public would lose, thereby informing us that the teamsters were not a part of the "public".

And when the street-car men went on strike, the press informed us that the street-car men should remain at work so "the public" would not have to walk, thereby informing us that street-car employers were not a part of "the public".

The Public Invoked.

A few years later when the Western Federation of Miners struck, the press informed us that if the miners didn't need the copper which they "were producing" "the public" did, thereby informing us that quartz miners were not a part of "the public".

A few years later when the I. W. W. started speaking on the streets the press informed them that they must quit speaking to "the public" or be driven from the city or be killed, thereby informing us that the I. W. W. are not a part of "the public".

A few years later when the lumberjacks struck for an eight-hour day the press shed tears of blood because the public would have to pay more for lumber, thereby informing us that the lumberjacks are not a part of "the public".

A few years later, when a general strike was declared in Seattle, the press voiced fears that "the public" would be plunged into darkness, thereby informing us that none of the working people in Seattle are a part of "the public".

We're Excluded.

Being convinced by this time that no union man or woman was a part of the public, surely, thought I, the farmers must be "the public". But by this time the farmers had organized all over the Northwest. This brought forth the wrath of the prostitute editors, who devoted their editorial pages with great pictures of "rich farm-



LUTHER BURBANK

THOMAS EDISON

HENRY FORD



CARUSO

ETTOR

GIOVANNITTI

ers" robbing "poor" wholesale dealers and "povcicy-st icken" stock brokers, thereby informing us that the farmers are not a part of "the public".

And November 1st the great coal miners' strike occurred. The government immediately stepped in and said, "I shall protect 'the public,'" and as the government did not protect the miners, it thereby informed us that coal miners are not a part of "the public".

This morning I met an old-time coal miner. Said I to the miner, "Why is the press shedding tears about the coal miners? Is it because some miners are entombed and doomed to death in an Ohio mine?"

The miner laughed and said, "No, you fool! They're weeping because 'the public's' shins are cold."

Said I to the miner, "Can you tell me who 'the public' is?"

"Certainly," said the miner, "it's that part of the population which craves things it does not produce or help to produce."

"Where did you get your information?" said I.

"From the capitalist press," said the miner.

THINK!

The national budget this year represents a tax of \$50 upon every man, woman and child in the United States, and of this amount \$46.50 goes for war and militarism.

Our Navy is larger than any other except England's.

We are building ten super-dreadnaughts to cost over \$25,000,000 each. WHY?

No other nation is building one-fifth that number.

The Navy will cost this year \$425,000,000, or \$4 for every person in the country.

Is that the way you want your money spent?

—[Friends Peace Committee, 304 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.]

Taken from Life, January 11, 1917.



BACK HOME.

ADVERTISING PSYCHOLOGY

By FRANK BONVILLE

Do you think you would know enough to purchase and wear warm, well-made clothing if the woolen manufacturers and clothiers should suddenly cease to advertise their wares? Do you think you possess sufficient intelligence to select a wholesome breakfast food for your table without being urged and enticed and browbeaten day in and day out by black, blue, green, red and vari-colored typed ballyhoos, ridiculous nursery rhymes and what-not-to-do-so, or abstain at your peril? Do you consider yourself better able to choose a durable, well-made touring car, or to take out life insurance in a sound, conservative, well-managed company because of the fact that the purveyors of these commodities, in their red-hot zeal to press their own make of machine or type of insurance upon you, find it expedient in their daily advertisements to claim infinite superiority over all competitors?

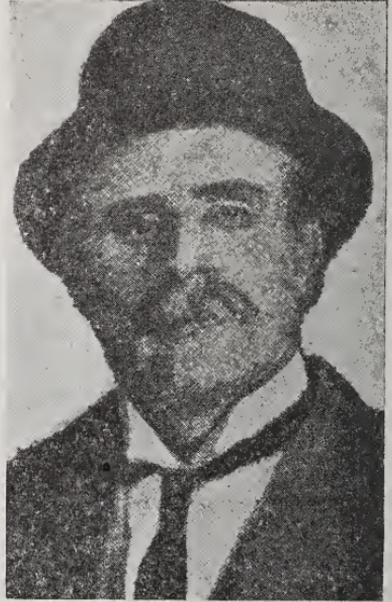
Has it ever occurred to you that you, the ultimate consumer, are the one who foots the advertising bills contracted by the manufacturer, the jobber, wholesaler, the retailer? And do you know that expenditures for advertising amount to approximately THREE BILLION DOLLARS ANNUALLY in the United States?

After many years' study of newspaper and magazine advertising and the results thereof I am convinced that 80 per cent of the publicity funds so expended constitute not only an unwarranted tax upon the consumer, but that the result of such advertising is a grave detriment to the consuming public in that the claims put forth by the advertisers serve to befuddle and mislead, rather than to constructively educate. And in so far as advertisers diverge from constructive, truthful statements concerning their wares, so far do they, wilfully or unconsciously, disfranchise the buying public, for the purchaser should know, in reason and justice is entitled to know, not only the exact kind and quality of the thing he is buying, but the cost of producing that thing, and the net profit which accrues to the vendor by reason of its sale; and advertisements which do not apprise him of those facts, or which are calculated to lead him away from such facts,—advertisements which are conceived solely or chiefly to create desire and thereby stimulate sales,—constitute in essence a fraud upon the public and are equivalent to the sly craft practiced by that most despicable of petty thieves known as a pick-pocket.

You will note that I do not thus condemn all advertising, for I concede that perhaps 20 per cent of the money spent annually



JACK LONDON



TOM MANN



JAMES A. DUNCAN



E. B. AULT
Editor of Seattle Union Record

in this country for advertising is well spent,—and when I place the figure at 20 per cent I believe I have allowed a very generous margin. Illustrative of what I consider legitimate advertising, let us say that Smith, a farmer, wishes to change his location and in order to do so would sell his farm; or that Jones has lost a horse, or cow, and wishes to apprise the public of the fact; or that Edison or Ford has invented a new labor-saving machine, or that a newly discovered textile fabric has been placed upon the market; here, I should say, is legitimate ground for advertising, the public being entitled to know that something new and better is to be had for the purchasing.

Let us hope for a day when the inevitable breakfast food “ad” will become conspicuous by its absence from the pages of our favorite journal, when screaming announcement of the one and only “Super-Six” will cease to shriek at us whenever we chance to peruse our daily newspaper; when, in brief, we shall have ceased to be victimized out of a portion of our daily earnings by vendors of wares who now insist upon telling us how and what to buy and then add to the price of the article offered the cost of dinning its merits into our suffering ears through the medium of a press whose palms are ever itching to be tickled with—the advertiser’s gold?—no! my gold, your gold, our gold; for it is we, the buying public, that in the ultimate pay the bill.

ANOTHER LIE NAILED

[Gale’s Magazine.]

It would take an army of men and women and thousands of newspapers working day and night to deny the lies about Mexico with anything like the rapidity with which they are circulated.

Not long ago, that association of arch-falsifiers, the Associated Press, sent out a story telling of the withdrawal of the Canadian Pearsons from Mexico. This company owns the Mexican Northwest Railroad in Chihuahua and extensive lumber interests. It was alleged that the Mexican government had confiscated lands of the railroad. As soon as they heard the yarn, the president and vice-president of the company issued a categorical denial. Their lands have not been confiscated. They have had no trouble whatever with the Mexican government. The story had not one iota of truth in it.

This is a sample of the lies being retailed out to the American people in order to create public sentiment in favor of war with Mexico.

There is no mistaking the fact that public opinion in the United States is overwhelmingly against intervention in Mexico.

CHICAGO
1905



IT CANNOT BE STOPPED UNTIL IT REACHES
THE SEA OF INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM.

W. P. Ripper

By CLARENCE S. DARROW

I really do not believe in crime. There is no such thing as a crime as the word is generally understood. I do not believe there is any sort of distinction between the real moral condition of the people in and out of jail. One is just as good as the other. The people here can no more help being here than the people outside can avoid being outside. I do not believe that people are in jail because they deserve to be. They are in jail simply because they cannot avoid it on account of circumstances which are entirely beyond their control and for which they are in no way responsible. . . . Of course we know that people do not get rich by being good. . . . Nine-tenths of you are in jail because you did not have a good lawyer, and of course you did not have a good lawyer because you did not have enough money to pay a good lawyer. There is no very great danger of a rich man's going to jail. . . . There are a good many more people who go to jail in the winter time than in summer. Why is this? Is it because people are more wicked in winter? No, it is because the coal trust begins to get in its grip in the winter. . . . There are more people go to jail in hard times than in good times. . . . When the meat combine raises the price of beef I do not know who is going to jail, but I know that a large number of people are bound to go. . . . More is taken from the poor by the rich, who have the chance to take it. . . . Everybody makes his living along the lines of least resistance. . . . You cannot be a landlord because somebody has got it all. You must find some other calling. In England, Ireland and Scotland less than 5 per cent own all the land there is, and the people are bound to stay there on any kind of terms the landlords give. They must live the best they can. . . . They do not make the laws to protect anybody; courts are not instruments of justice; when your case gets into court it will make little difference whether you are guilty or innocent; but it's better if you have a smart lawyer. And you cannot have a smart lawyer unless you have money. First and last, it's a question of money. Those men who own the earth make the laws to protect what they have. They fix up a sort of fence or pen around what they have, and they fix the law so the fellow on the outside cannot get in. . . . Then if you were rich and were beaten, your case would be taken to the Appellate Court. A poor man cannot take his case to the Appellate Court; he has not the price. And then to the Supreme Court, and if he were beaten there he might perhaps go to the United States Supreme Court. And he might die of old age before he got into jail. If you are poor, it's a quick job. You are almost known to be guilty, else you would not be there. Why should anyone be in the criminal court if he were not guilty? He would not be there if he could be anywhere else. The officials have no time to look

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

COME-ON!
SHELL OUT!

BRITISH
LABOR

PROFITEER



after all these cases. The people who are on the outside, who are running the banks and building churches and making jails, they have no time to examine 600 or 700 prisoners each year to see whether they are guilty or innocent. . . . Most of the crimes for which we are punished are property crimes. . . . The only way in the world to abolish crime and criminals is to abolish the big ones and the little ones together. Make fair conditions of life. Give men a chance to live. Abolish the right of private ownership of land. . . .

WAR AND RESPECTABILITY

[Editorial Page of the Capital Times.]

The grip of the white terror has been lessened in this country to an extent where a man can be AGAINST WAR without standing a chance of being torn to pieces under the ferocious standards of "patriotism" established by such organizations as the Security League, the American Defense Society, the United Americans and kindred other Wall Street organizations.

We are prompted to make these remarks by the reading of an editorial in the Baltimore Sun. The Baltimore Sun is one of the staid, "reliable" newspapers of the East. It is regular and orthodox—the largest and most influential paper in Baltimore. The following editorial recently appeared in the Sun:

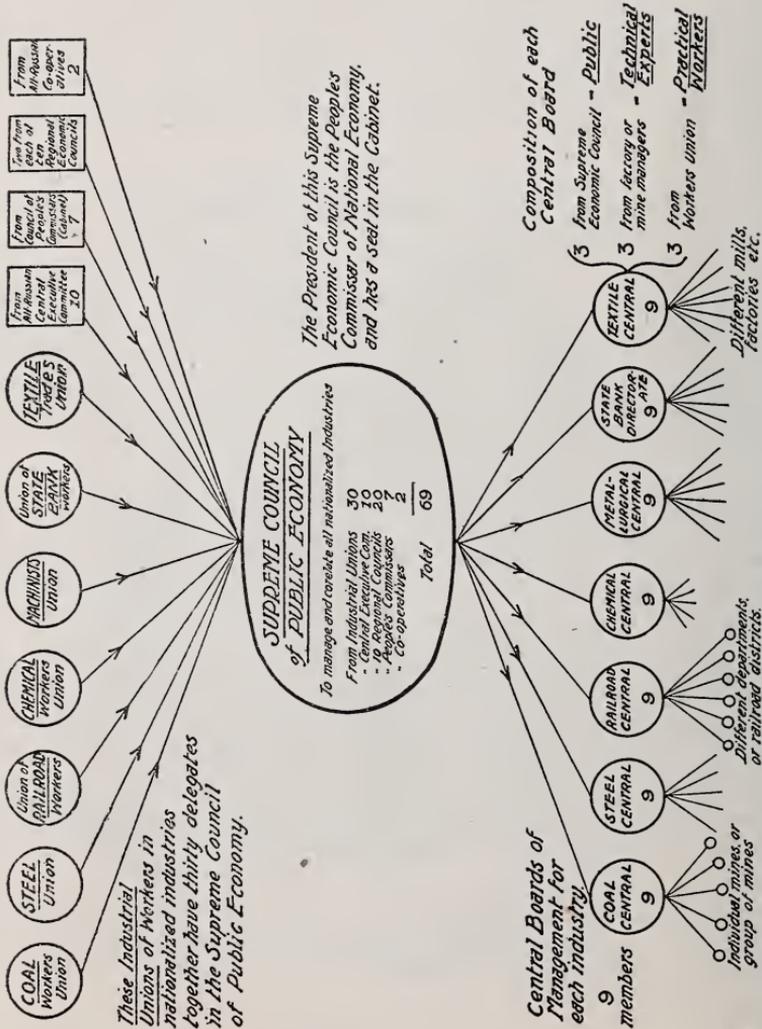
"Never yet has there been a war that could not have been avoided. Never more would there be a war if the statesmen who plan and invoke wars were required to take their places in the trenches. . . . People are beginning to see it for what it really is. They are beginning to see how the common people of the world are set at each other's throats by the engineering of hatreds, the play on nationality and the capitalization of human passions by the rulers.

"Tremendous world forces are at work that will put an end to war. And yet how little our capitalistic newspapers have to say about these revolutionary changes! . . ."

OUR PULPIT

The purpose of the church has always been to stand for principle. As a whole she has not always remained true to principle, but no one feels the weakness more than herself.

Just now, however, she is again in danger of going on the rocks.



THE SOVIET SYSTEM

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE ANATOMY OF THE SOVIET SUPREME COUNCIL OF PUBLIC ECONOMY

WHO'S PAYING THE INTEREST?

[By Scott Nearing.]

The French government, to meet its interest charges, must find some 9,000,000,000 of francs each year; the German government as many marks, and the British £2,000,000,000. Even in the United States, where the national debt is only 28 billion dollars, the interest charge is in the neighborhood of 1,000,000,000 dollars a year.

What is the meaning of all this?

The bonds of each country are held principally by the people of that country. So it comes about that the well-to-do part of the population in each of the greatest countries (from 5 to 15 per cent of the people) holds most of the government bonds. Therefore, the well-to-do will receive most of the interest payments. . . .

Here then is a system under which the government takes from the masses, who are poor, and gives to the well-to-do, who already are amply supplied with the good things of life.

This system has existed for a long time. The war has brought it into the daylight. . . .

The workers, who produce all of the wealth, receive, in return for their labors, a bare living. . . .

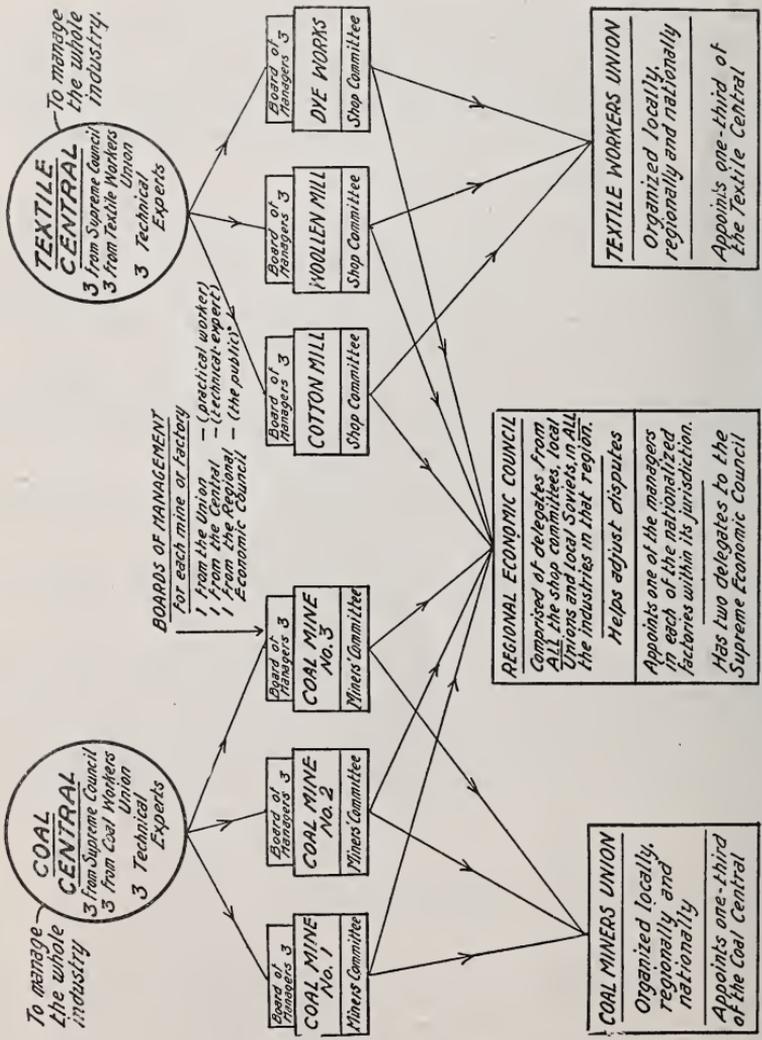
The owners have taken most of their graft directly from the workers in the form of rent, dividends and profits. Today, in every one of the heavily indebted countries, the government has undertaken to collect from the workers the billions of unearned income that is to go to the owners in the form of interest payments on bonds. . . .

RADICALISM

L. W. Buck, secretary of the Washington State Federation of Labor, in a statement issued, charges that employers, in their pretended discovery of "radicalism," are really attempting to gain control of the unions and make them ineffective in order that profits may not be disturbed. Buck's statement follows:

"The insistent demand from our opponents that we 'purge' ourselves of all 'radicals' has reached the point where it is time for us to give the consideration it merits.

"Let us remember, however, that this demand comes from those



THE SOVIET SYSTEM

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE COMPOSITION OF THE GREAT CENTRALS THAT CONTROL INDUSTRY

who insist on dealing with workers as individuals. They would prefer to see organized labor destroyed, for then the individual worker would be at their mercy.

"If they cannot destroy organized labor, and it would seem that they have at last so concluded, then the next best move is to split it by debarring from its ranks all on whom they could fix the brand of 'radicalism.'

"The bosses believe that the class of workers thus 'kicked out' from the American Federation of Labor will feel aggrieved at being so handled and will fight back by offering their services as strike-breakers, and in other ways aid them (the employers) in breaking down conditions for all who labor, to the great satisfaction and profit of special privilege. . . .

"But what do they mean by 'radicals'? By what method are we to determine what constitutes a 'radical'? Are we who compose the labor movement to determine this question? If not, then who will?

"These are questions that must be answered before we can give serious thought to 'kicking out' anyone.

"Our enemies have condemned every man in the ranks who has exhibited enough life to be active. They have placed the 'brand' on practically every officer in the labor movement . . . and stretched their definition of 'radical' to include the whole of that group of members who show enough interest in their affairs to attend the meetings of their respective unions. All of these must be 'purged' if we would satisfy the employers.

"Even then our movement would not be their idea of perfection. To reach this pinnacle in their esteem we must permit them to determine who should fill the various offices and act on various committees. And the rank and file must also agree to transform the union into a mutual admiration society. . . .

"If, after this, we will give up a part of the wages they allow us toward a fund to be used to care for those whose health the inhuman industrial conditions they will create has broken, and bury those who are killed while working for the boss who is operating under the misnamed 'American Plan,' we will then have put the finishing touch to the employers' idea of industrial heaven.

"As a matter of fact, the question is not one of radicalism. The question is, 'Who is going to choose our officers, appoint our committees, and run the union?' Are we to do this, or are we to let our bosses do it? That is the question, and every man and

AN EXPONENT OF THE OPEN SHOP



I'M AFTER YOU!

woman in the ranks of labor can rest assured that the boss will be satisfied with nothing else.

"We are organized for the purpose of looking after OUR interest and it is our business, our duty, to see that the organization to which we belong functions as we intended it should.

"We must not, therefore, get hysterical over the cry of the profiteer. . . . If there is 'purging' to be done it should first start in the ranks of those who now demand it of us.

"Our duty is clear. We must keep our feet on the earth and our heads and shoulders together. We must think with a cool head and act with good judgment. While our opponents rave, we must work all the harder to solidify our ranks. It is our mission to organize, not disorganize. This is our answer: 'We will not cringe!'"

[The Crucible, December, 1919.]

Religion has never been a preventative of crime.

Love is the power that can reform the world, and love needs no religion.

Hate lurks behind religion and is guilty of more crime than infidelity ever was.

Many good people are religious, but they could be as good and have no religion.

The oil king and bank king are fine examples of religious profiteers.

Food profiteers and rent hogs are as a rule members of some religious organization.

Statistics have shown that 85 per cent of convicted murderers are religious.

Religion cannot regenerate the world; for religion is founded on ignorance and faith.

The infamous Packers' Trust of Chicago is made up of men who promote church graft.

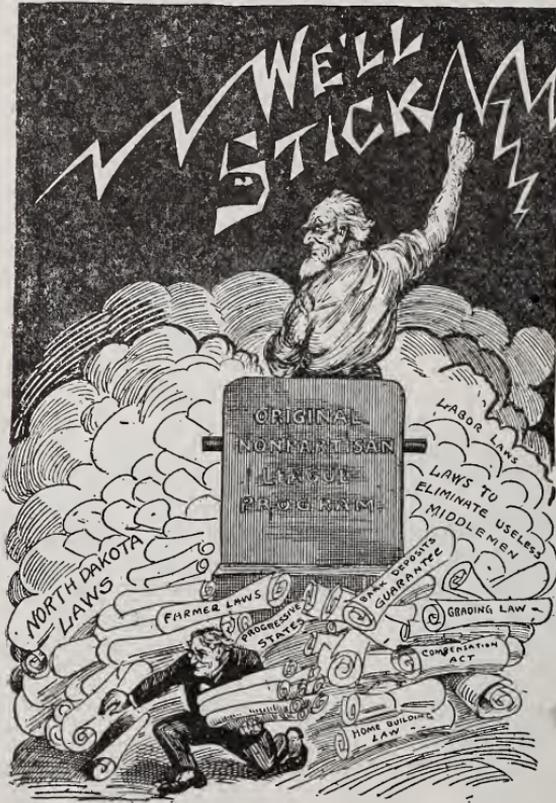
Religion does not prevent the manufacture of murder implements for the use of murderers.

Religious people are just as anxious to exploit labor as are those who have no religion, if not more so.

Department store corporations which amass millions on the slavery of poorly paid shop girls are noted for their support of religious grafters.

Religion does not give men the ability to carry their illy gotten wealth with them when they die. It must be left behind for the benefit of lawyers and courts.

STEALING OUR THUNDER—
BUT NOT OUR LIGHTNING



As the "Nonpartisan Leader" has pointed out, many other states are attempting to "steal the thunder" of the Nonpartisan League by adopting laws modeled after those of North Dakota. But though they may steal our thunder, as John Baer puts it, they can't steal our lightning—the old "We'll Stick!" spirit.



Remember!

We are in **HERE** for
YOU!

You are out **THERE** for
US!

[Post-Intelligencer, June 5, 1919.]

Geo. F. Vanderveer: “. . . To call the I. W. W. a disloyal organization . . . was willful slander. They were fighting for human freedom . . . just as Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison fought for it, when the question of Negro slavery was uppermost. These men were the I. W. W. of 1850, they were jailed for the principles, too. . . . They were trying to overthrow the industrial system based on slavery. Jesus Christ didn't believe in the established order and they crucified him for it. . . . I do not believe in convicting one man for what someone else maybe did. Who are the real enemies of your political liberties? They are the men who have a throttle hold on your political life; and you can only kill this system by killing exploitations, which the I. W. W. aims to do.”

Mr. Vanderveer, openly avowing himself to believe with the I. W. W. in its advocacy of direct action to obtain industrial reform, predicted an era when a new industrial order, in which the worker would come into his own, would be established. . . . The courts are controlled by capitalists. . . .

[W. Julian.]

He takes a sheet of paper, pure and clean and white;
He dips his pen in vitriol ('tis only thus he'll write).
He cares not whom he injures with his dirty, slimy lies,
Just so he draws his pay-check—and fools may think him wise.
He'll defame men and women—help railroad to the pen
Folks whose only crime has been they loved their fellow men.
He appeals to evil prejudice; he stirs up civil strife;
He daily blasphemes liberty and the highest aims of life.
In the name of law and order he advocates mob rule.
He does his master's bidding—he's a spineless, willing tool.
He poisons at its source the news we read for fact,
He distorts and modifies the truth—this literary hack.
He deals in puerile sophistry to snare the ignorant,
He's a snaking, crawling viper, an intolerant sycophant.
He's always for the big guy and against the poor and weak,
He won't fight in the open—he's a mean and cowardly sneak.
There's no name yet invented that fits this base galoot,
The smallest thing on earth—an intellectual prostitute.
He writes on paper pure and white, this petty penny-hack.
He dips his pen in vitriol; the words he writes are black!

MELTING POT, MAY 1916.



—From Regeneracion
THE MAKERS OF MEXICO'S MISERY

[By Frank Harris.]

Tom Paine was a born rebel. . . . He came here at thirty-seven and his pamphlet of only 47 pages, "Common Sense," aroused the American people to revolt; he was the first to suggest American independence. Who can ever forget his great words: "These are the times that try men's souls." Think of what he did: He was the first to suggest the "Federal Union," the first to write the words, "United States of America," the first to propose international arbitration, the abolition of Negro slavery, international copyright and old-age pensions. In the Eighteenth Century he advocated justice to women and was the first to write of "the religion of humanity."

Paine lived simply and economically, but quite well—was always cheery and courteous, perhaps occasionally a little blunt, having very positive opinions upon politics, religion, and so forth. That he labored well and wisely for the States in the trying period of their parturition, and in the seeds of their character, there seems to me no question.

I dare not say how much of what our Union is owning and enjoying today—its independence—its ardent belief in, and substantial practice of, radical human rights—and the severance of its government from all ecclesiastical and superstitious dominion—I dare not say how much of all this is owing to Thomas Paine, but I am inclined to think a good portion of it decidedly is. . . .

Thomas Paine had a noble personality, as exhibited in presence, face, voice, dress, manner, and what may be called his atmosphere and magnetism; especially the later years of his life. I am sure of it. . . .

Thomas Paine, why are you not among us today? We need you so badly. We need your "Common Sense" in this "Crisis" through which we are passing. We are clamoring for the "Rights of Man," we are still longing for "The Age of Reason."

Would you like to know, Thomas Paine, what happened to your remains? How they were denied at first Christian burial at New Rochelle, how they were interred on your own farm, the one the State of New York gave you as a token of appreciation? How your coffin was stolen one night and spirited away to your native England. Your skull and your bones disappeared and a small part of your brains and a few locks of your hair came back to America. . . . How you will laugh about your fellow rebels, about the "sons and daughters of the Revolution," whose great grand-children are not capable of conceiving the truth for which you so often were willing to die! . . .

LESLIE'S WEEKLY, NOVEMBER 2, 1916



TWICE DESOLATED BY WAR

Not only has France an army of fatherless children to care for,
but many old people who have been driven from their homes

. . . Dear Thomas Paine, they haunted you during your lifetime. Peace was not given unto you by your fellow citizens and your bones were scattered to the winds while the great truths of your books were carried all over the world, and your principles became the pillars of republics and of the world's humanitarian institutions.

Only a few years ago a magnificent picture of you was found—strangely enough by your friend, von der Weyde, in a little antique shop in the Rue de Seine in Paris, buried among old portraits. The proprietor did not know whom the picture represented. It is painted by F. de Bonville, a brother of Nicholas de Bonville, your old publisher and lifelong friend.

New York has grown, Thomas Paine; it is the largest city of the world today. America has become the richest country of the universe, and has just emerged as victor from the world war. And things have happened here, and are happening daily. . . .! You would turn in your grave, Thomas Paine, if you knew them—if, indeed, the malice of men had left you a grave!

LECTURE

WHAT MUST WE DO IN ORDER TO BE SAVED?

[By Col. Robert G. Ingersoll.]

. . . Now, I beg of you all to forget for just a few minutes that you are Methodists, or Baptists, or Catholics, or Presbyterians, and let us for an hour or two remember only that we are men and women. . . . And let us, if possible, banish all fear from the mind. . . . Don't imagine that there is any being who would give to his children the holy torch of reason and then damn them for following where the sacred light may lead. . . . There is but one worship, and that is justice. . . . You need not fear the anger of a God whom you cannot injure. Rather fear to injure your fellow man.

Don't be afraid of the crime that you cannot commit. Rather be afraid of the one that you may commit. . . . Let us think and let us honestly express our thought. Do not for a moment imagine that I think the people who disagree with me are bad people. . . . I believe that most Christians believe what they teach,—that most ministers are endeavoring to make this world better. . . . It is a question, first, of intellectual liberty, and after that a question to be settled at the bar of human reason. . . . The question is, have I a right to think? . . . The next question, then, is, can I commit a sin against God by thinking?



"TRAITOR"

Now, then, we have got what they call a Christian system of religion, and thousands of people wonder how I can be wicked enough to attack that system. . . . I shall never fear to attack anything I honestly believe to be wrong. . . . We have, I say, the Christian system, and that system is founded upon what they are pleased to call the New Testament. Who wrote the New Testament? I do not know. Who does know? Nobody. We have found some fifty-two manuscripts containing portions of the New Testament. Some of the manuscripts leave out five or six books, many of them; others more, others less. No two of these manuscripts agree. Nobody knows who wrote these manuscripts. They are all written in Greek. The disciples of Christ knew only Hebrew. . . . Nobody ever saw, so far as we know, one of the original Hebrew manuscripts. . . .

This Testament was not written for hundreds of years after the Apostles were dust. . . . The Church got into trouble and wanted a passage to help it out, one was interpolated to order. So that now it is among the easiest things in the world to pick out at least 100 such interpolations in the New Testament. . . . For thousands of years the world has been asking the question, "What shall we do to be saved?" Saved from poverty? No. Crime? No. Tyranny? No. But "What shall we do to be saved from the eternal wrath of the God who made us all?" . . .

I made up my mind, I say, to see what I had to do in order to save my soul. . . .

The idea of putting a house and lot on an equality with wife and children! Think of that! I do not accept the terms. . . . Let me tell you today that it is far more important to build a home than to erect a church. . . .

The only way to get to Heaven is to believe something that you don't understand. . . .

In order to be saved it is necessary to believe this. . . .

Of course I admit—cheerfully—. . . that there are thousands of good Catholics. But Catholicism is contrary to human liberty; Catholicism bases salvation upon belief; Catholicism teaches man to trample his reason under foot; and for that reason it is wrong.

No matter what we believe, shake hands, and say, "Let it go; that is your opinion, this is mine; let us be friends." Science makes friends; religion, superstition, make enemies. They say, belief is important; I say no, actions are important; judge by deeds, not by creeds. . . .



DETROIT JOURNAL
MAY 14 1917.

LO! THE POOR RICH MAN

FROM THE FORD TIMES, FEBRUARY 1916.



The demand of "Preparedness" on the American Farmer

I believe in the gospel of cheerfulness; the gospel of good nature; in the gospel of good health. Let us pay some attention to our bodies; take care of our bodies, and our souls will take care of themselves. Good health! I believe the time will come when the public thought will be so great and grand that it will be looked upon as infamous to perpetuate disease. I believe the time will come when men will not fill the future with consumption and insanity. I believe the time will come when with studying ourselves and understanding the laws of health, we will say we are under obligations to put the flags of health in the cheeks of our children. . . .

I believe in the gospel of good living. You cannot make any God happy by fasting. . . .

I believe in the gospel of justice—that we must reap what we sow. I do not believe in forgiveness. If I rob Mr. Smith, and God forgives me, how does that help Smith? . . .

For every crime you commit you must answer to yourself and to the one you injure . . . that is what I believe in. And if it goes hard with me, I will stand it. . . . And I will stick to my logic; and I will bear it like a man. . . . And I believe, too, in the gospel of liberty,—of giving to others what we claim. And I believe there is room everywhere for thought, and the more liberty you give away the more you will have. . . .

God cannot make miserable a man who has made somebody else happy. God cannot hate anybody who is capable of loving his neighbor. So I believe in this great gospel of generosity. Ah, but they say it won't do. You must believe. I say no. . . .

I have made up my mind that . . . God will be merciful to the merciful. Upon that rock I stand. . . . That He will forgive the forgiving; upon that rock I stand. That every man shall be true to himself, and that there is no world, no star, in which honesty is a crime; and upon that rock I stand. An honest man, a good, kind, sweet woman, or a happy child, has nothing to fear, neither in this world nor in the world to come. Upon that rock I stand.

PRESS COMMITTEE:—The Republicans and the Democrats, from the class-conscious workers' point of view, differ only in name. . . . The average man in this country today could not tell you to save his life why he voted for either the Republicans or Democrats. The citizen voter was not consulted about the war, about conscription, or anything else. He never is, and it is not intended by his masters that he should be.

Who Is Responsible?



THE INDUSTRIAL UNION NEWS,
OCT. 9, 1920

"To every industrial conference capital comes with the spirit of peace and good will—but the temper and spirit of labor is aggressive"—Capitalist papers.

WITH DROPS OF BLOOD THE HISTORY OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD HAS BEEN WRITTEN

FROM 1916 TO 1919

[Melting Pot, Nov., 1919.]

Ever since the I. W. W. was organized in June, 1905, there has been an inquisitorial campaign against its life and growth, inaugurated by the chambers of commerce profiteers. . . .

. . . The Industrial Workers of the World is a labor organization composed of sober, honest, industrious men and women. Its chief purposes are to abolish the system of wage-slavery and to improve the conditions of those who toil. . . .

. . . I. W. W. members have been murdered, imprisoned, tarred and feathered, deported, starved, beaten, denied the right of citizenship, exiled, their homes invaded, private property and papers seized, denied the privilege of defense, held in exorbitant bail, subjected to involuntary servitude, kidnaped, subjected to cruel and unusual punishment, "framed" and unjustly accused, excessively fined, died in jail waiting for trial, driven insane through persecution, denied the use of the mails, denied the right of free speech, denied the right of free press, denied the right of free assembly, denied every privilege guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, denied the inherent rights proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence—Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

I. W. W. halls, offices and headquarters have been raided.

I. W. W. property, books, pamphlets, stamps, literature, office fixtures have been unlawfully seized.

I. W. W. as an organization and its membership have been viciously maligned, vilified and persecuted.

The charges set forth in this indictment would count for nothing unless evidence and proof were at hand to sustain them. A record of every charge can be found in the annals of the press, the court records of the land, the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, and other reports of the Government of the United States.

We charge that I. W. W. members have been murdered, and mention here a few of those who have lost their lives:



FITZPATRICK in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Military Necessity" Again

Joseph Michalish was shot to death by a mob of so-called citizens.

Michael Hoey was beaten to death in San Diego.

Samuel Chinn was so brutally beaten in the county jail at Spokane, Washington, that he died from the injuries.

Joseph Hillstrom was judicially murdered within the walls of the penitentiary at Salt Lake City, Utah.

Anna Lopeza, a textile worker, was shot and killed, and two other fellow workers were murdered during the strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts.

Frank Little, a cripple, was lynched by hirelings of the Copper Trust at Butte, Montana.

John Looney, A. Robinowitz, Hugo Gerlot, Gustav Johnson, Felix Baron and others were killed by a mob of Lumber Trust gunmen on the steamer "Verona" at the dock at Everett, Washington.

J. A. Kelly was arrested and rearrested at Seattle, Washington, finally dying from the effects of the frightful treatment he received.

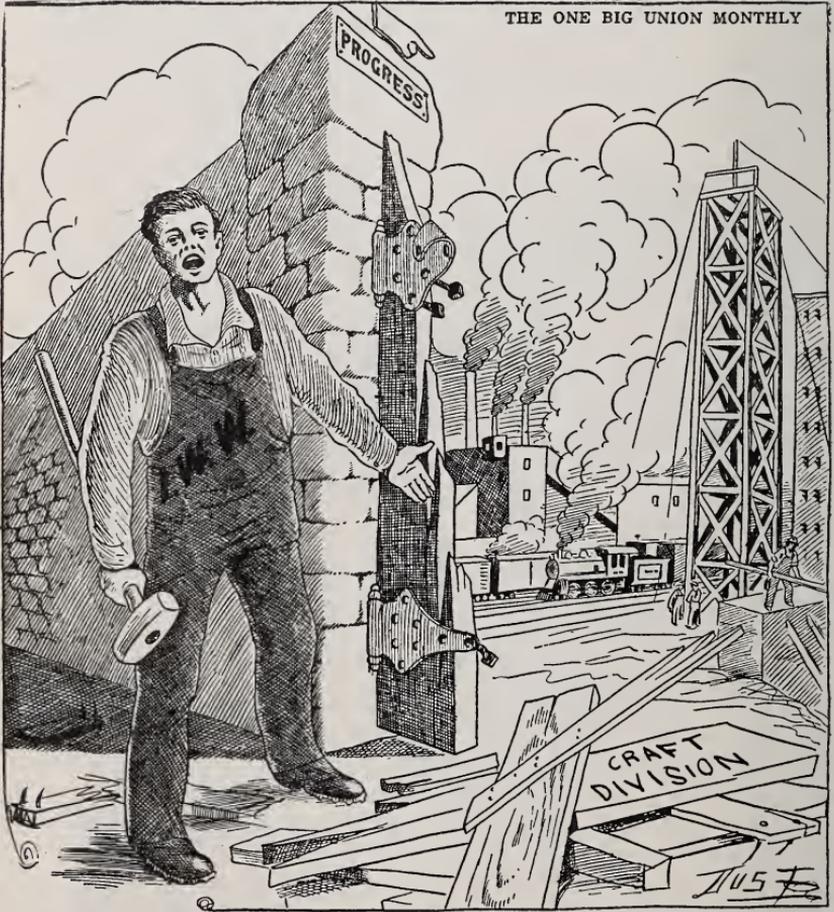
Four members of the I. W. W. were killed at Grabow, Louisiana, where thirty were shot and seriously wounded.

Two members were dragged to death behind an automobile at Ketchikan, Alaska.

These are but a few of the many who have given up their lives on the altar of Greed, sacrificed in the age-long struggle for Industrial Freedom.

We charge that many thousands of members of this organization have been imprisoned, on most occasions arrested without warrant and held without charge. To verify this statement it is but necessary that you read the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations wherein is given testimony of those who know of conditions at Lawrence, Massachusetts, where nearly 900 men and women were thrown into prison during the Textile Workers' strike at that place. This same report recites the fact that during the Silk Workers' strike at Paterson, New Jersey, nearly 1,900 men and women were cast into jail without charge or reason. Throughout the Northwest these kinds of outrages have been continually perpetrated against members of the I. W. W. County jails and city prisons in nearly every state in the Union have held or are holding members of this organization.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been tarred and feathered. Frank H. Meyers was tarred and feathered by a gang



BREAKING DOWN THE CRAFT UNION FENCES THAT SEPARATE THE WORKERS.

of prominent citizens at North Yakima, Washington. D. S. Dietz was tarred and feathered by a mob led by representatives of the Lumber Trust at Sedro-Woolley, Washington. John L. Metzen, attorney for the Industrial Workers of the World, was tarred and feathered and severely beaten by a mob of citizens at Staunton, Illinois. At Tulsa, Oklahoma, a mob of bankers and other business men gathered up seventeen members of the I. W. W., loaded them into automobiles, carried them out of town to a patch of woods, and there tarred and feathered and beat them with ropes.

We charge that members of the Industrial Workers of the World have been deported, and cite the cases of Bisbee, Arizona, where 1,164 miners, many of them members of the I. W. W., and their friends, were dragged out of their homes, loaded upon box-cars, and sent out of the camp. They were confined for months at Columbus, New Mexico. Many cases are now pending against the copper companies and business men of Bisbee. A large number of members were deported from Jerome, Arizona. Seven members of the I. W. W. were deported from Florence, Colorado, and were lost for days in the woods. Tom Lassiter, a crippled news vender, was taken out in the middle of the night and badly beaten by a mob for selling the "Liberator" and other radical papers.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been cruelly and inhumanly beaten. Hundreds of members can show scars upon their lacerated bodies that were inflicted upon them when they were compelled to run the gauntlet. Joe Marko and many others were treated in this fashion at San Diego, California. James Rowan was nearly beaten to death at Everett, Washington. At Lawrence, Massachusetts, the thugs of the Textile Trust beat men and women who had been forced to go on strike to get a little more of the good things of life. The shock and cruel whipping which they gave one little Italian woman caused her to give premature birth to a child. At Red Lodge, Montana, a member's home was invaded and he was hung by the neck before his screaming wife and children. At Franklin, New Jersey, August 29, 1917, John Avila, an I. W. W., was taken in broad daylight by the chief of police and an auto-load of business men to a woods near the town and there hung to a tree. He was cut down before death ensued and badly beaten. It was five hours before Avila regained consciousness, after which the town "judge" sentenced him to three months at hard labor.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been starved. This statement can be verified by the conditions existing in most any county jail where members of the I. W. W. are confined. A very recent instance is at Topeka, Kansas, where members were



THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

Eric W. Smith

WHO SHALL RULE "MERRY ENGLAND"?

compelled to go on a hunger strike as a means of securing food for themselves that would sustain life. Members have been forced to resort to the hunger strike as a means of getting better food in many places.

We charge that the members of the I. W. W. have been held in exorbitant bail. As an instance there is the case of Pietro Pierre, held in the county jail at Topeka, Kansas. His bond was fixed at \$5,000, and when the amount was tendered it was immediately raised to \$10,000. This is only one of the many instances that could be recorded.

I. W. W.s have been compelled to submit to involuntary servitude. This does not refer to members confined in the penitentiaries, but we would call the reader's attention to an I. W. W. member under arrest at Birmingham, Alabama, taken from the prison and placed on exhibition at a fair given in that city, where admission of twenty-five cents was charged to see the I. W. W.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been kidnaped. To prove this assertion Wm. D. Haywood was carried from his home in Denver, Colorado, to Boise, Idaho, where he was held in prison 18 months until finally acquitted of the charge of murder preferred against him. Frank Little was taken from his bed at midnight by masked Copper Trust gunmen, dragged with ropes behind an automobile to the Milwaukee bridge at Butte, Mont., and there hung. Geo. Speed and Wm. Thorne were kidnaped at Aberdeen, Washington. Many other similar cases have occurred.

I. W. W. have suffered cruel and unusual punishment. At Fresno, California, where the jail was crowded with members, the fire department was called and a stream of water was turned upon the helpless men. Their only protection was mattresses and blankets. One man had his eye torn out by the water. This method of treatment was also adopted at San Diego, California.

We charge that members of this organization have been unjustly accused and "framed." This statement is proved by the present case against Pietro Pierre and R. J. Bobba, the latter out on bond, the former now confined in Topeka, Kansas, jail. Charles Krieger has been held for months in jail at Tulsa, Oklahoma. He is guiltless of any crime except of being a member of the I. W. W.

DETROIT FREE PRESS, Feb. 5, 1917:—If Jesus Christ had saved one dollar a minute from the time he came on earth, 1916 years ago, he could not match the wealth of the oil king today.

NEW YORK, Nov. 9, 1920.—[By Universal Service.]— * * * Doctor Shipman is pastor of the Church of the Heavenly Rest, Fifth Avenue and Forty-fifth Street. He said that the system of gouging dollars from the unfortunate had roused him to sleeplessness and that he had written in the middle of the night the poem which has caused so much amazement—

THE PROFITEERS

You have decked your frowsy wives with borrowed splendors,
You have hung your daughters' necks with stolen pearls;
Have you thought about the other wives, the lenders,
Or the wretches made to decorate your girls?

You have fashioned from the needs of sick and dying,
From the souls of children pleading for the right,
Ready cash today to do your Christmas buying,
Ready cash to pay your light o' love tonight.

You have coined your filthy gold from blood and sorrow;
There are soldiers' graves across the fields of France,
Whence the dead, who died through you, upon the morrow
Will arise to damn your profits with a glance.

The deathless deeds worth doing and worth telling—
All the things that noble men hold high and true—
All but seemed to you for buying and for selling,
All to serve a greasy human vulture—you!

God! That better men should toil and sweat and labor,
Bear the cross and climb up Calvaries of pain,
While the drawling ghouls that spare not friend or neighbor
Damn the world to make a crucible for gain.

If the blackest hell, O Lord, there be a blacker;
If beneath the deepest pit a deeper pit;
Not for harlot nor for thief nor coward slacker,
But for these that blackest, deepest hell is fit.

Profiteers of every sort and kind and fashion,
Where you tread full many other feet have trod;
You are ranged against the power of Christ's own passion;
Hark! Behind you walk the searching feet of God!

—Los Angeles Examiner.

THE HUMAN SACRIFICE FOR PROFIT

[By Henry George.]

If the animals can reason, what must they think of us, . . . Think of it—what a fool is a man to pass his life in this struggle merely to live! . . .

I say that all this poverty and the ignorance that flows from it is unnecessary; I say that there is no natural reason why we should not all be rich, in the sense, not of having more than each other, but in the sense of all having enough. . . .

There is no reason why wealth should not be so abundant that no one should think of such a thing as little children at work, or a woman compelled to toil at something that nature never intended her to perform. . . . There is a cause for this poverty, and if you trace it down, you will find its roots.

June 5, 1920.—A telegram from Railroad Brotherhood leaders to the President:

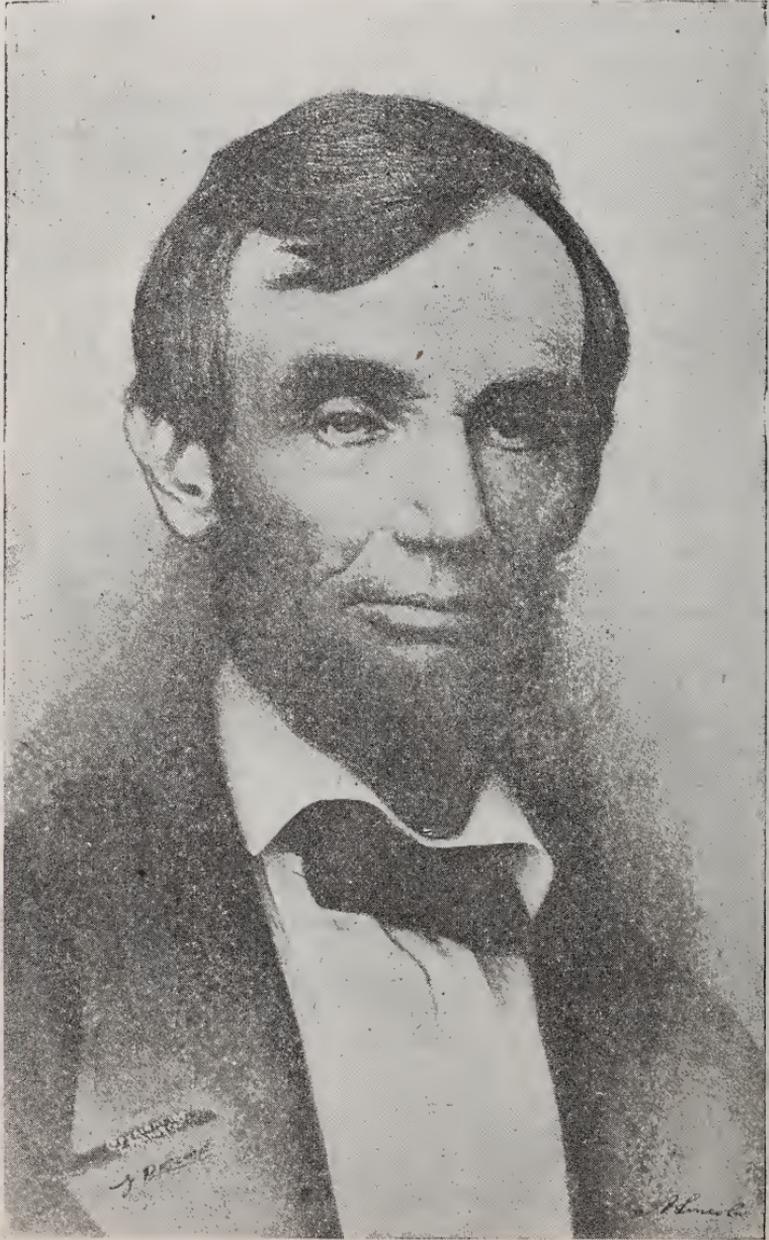
“As the responsible heads of railroad labor organizations, representing more than 2,000,000 workers, we call attention to the fact that Congress has done nothing to check the evil or to punish the evil-doers. It appears to us that the responsible leaders of the Government at Washington do nothing.”

Signed by Warren S. Stone, W. S. Carter, E. L. Sheppard, E. S. Heberling, W. S. Lee, W. H. Johnston, J. W. Kline, J. A. Franklin, J. J. Hines, James P. Noonan, Martin F. Ryan, E. J. Manion, E. F. Gravle, E. H. Fitzgerald, Timothy Shea, D. W. Healy, B. M. Jewell.

THE FORD INTERNATIONAL WEEKLY, Dec. 27, 1919:—Over 216,000 women in the British Isles were widowed by the war.

THE PORTLAND NEWS, Dec. 18, 1912:—If banks cannot run business they will do their best to kill it. Such is the attitude of the banks.

THE COMMONWEALTH, May 22, 1920:—Wars are made by the ruling classes and fought by the masses. They bring wealth and power to the privileged few and suffering, death and desolation to the many.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

JUSTICE FOR THE COLORED RACE

HOW HE CAN GET IT.

[This was copied from a leaflet, thousands of which were distributed in the State of Washington.]

Two lynchings a week—one every three or four days—that is the rate at which the people in this “land of the free and home of the brave” have been killing colored men and women for the past thirty years—3,224 Negroes known to have been put to death by mobs in this country since 1889, and put to death with every kind of torture that human fiends could invent.

Even during the war, while colored soldiers were being obliged to “fight for democracy” abroad, ninety-two of their race were lynched at home.

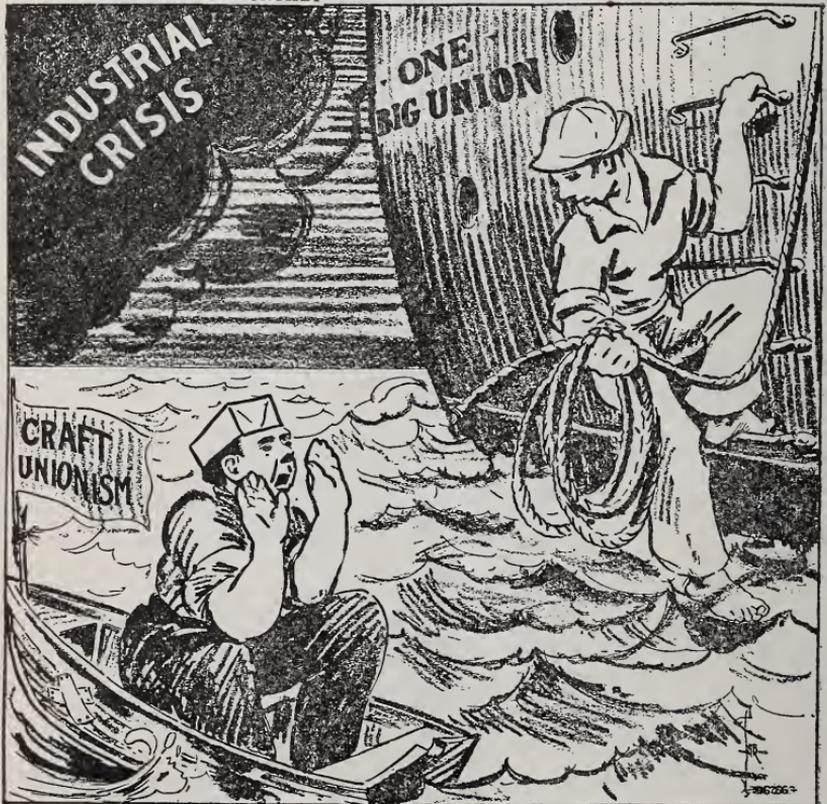
The wrongs of the Negro in the United States are not confined to lynchings, however. When allowed to live and work for the community, he is subjected to constant humiliation, injustice and discrimination. In the cities he is forced to live in the meanest districts, where his rent is doubled and tripled, while conditions of health and safety are neglected in favor of the white sections. In many states he is obliged to ride in special “Jim Crow” cars, hardly fit for cattle. Almost everywhere all semblance of political rights is denied him.

["The normal average death rate of males in a city is about 14.710 per 1,000; for Negroes, 28.710 per 1,000."—New York Times, February 22, 1919.]

The Colored Worker Everywhere Unfairly Treated.

When the Negro goes to look for work he meets with the same systematic discrimination. Thousands of jobs are closed to him solely on account of his color. He is considered fit only for the most menial occupations. In many cases he has to accept a lower wage than is paid to white men for the same work. [The wages of colored kitchen workers in New York City average \$20 a month lower than white employes.] Everywhere the odds are against him in the struggle for existence.

Throughout this land of liberty, so-called, the Negro worker is treated as an inferior; he is underpaid in his work and overcharged in his rent; he is kicked about, cursed and spat upon; in short, he is treated, not as a human being, but as an animal, a beast of burden for the ruling class. When he tries to improve his condition,



THE WISE GUY

Wobblly: "Better come aboard—it's going to blow."

Wm. Shears: "Nuttin' doin'! You guys are too damn radical!"

he is shoved back into the mire of degradation and poverty and told to "keep his place".

How can the Negro combat this widespread injustice? How can he not only put a stop to lynchings but force the white race to grant him equal treatment? How can he get his rights as a human being?

Protests, petitions and resolutions will never accomplish anything. It is useless to waste time and money on them. The government is in the hands of the ruling class of white men and will do as they wish. No appeal to the political powers will ever secure justice for the Negro.

The Master Class Fears the Organized Worker.

He has, however, one weapon that the master-class fears—the power to fold his arms and refuse to work for the community until he is guaranteed fair treatment. Remember how alarmed the South became over the emigration of colored workers two years ago, and what desperate means were used to try to keep them from leaving the mills and cotton fields? The only power of the Negro is his power as a worker; his only weapon is the strike. Only by organizing and refusing to work for those who abuse him can he put an end to the injustice and oppression he now endures.

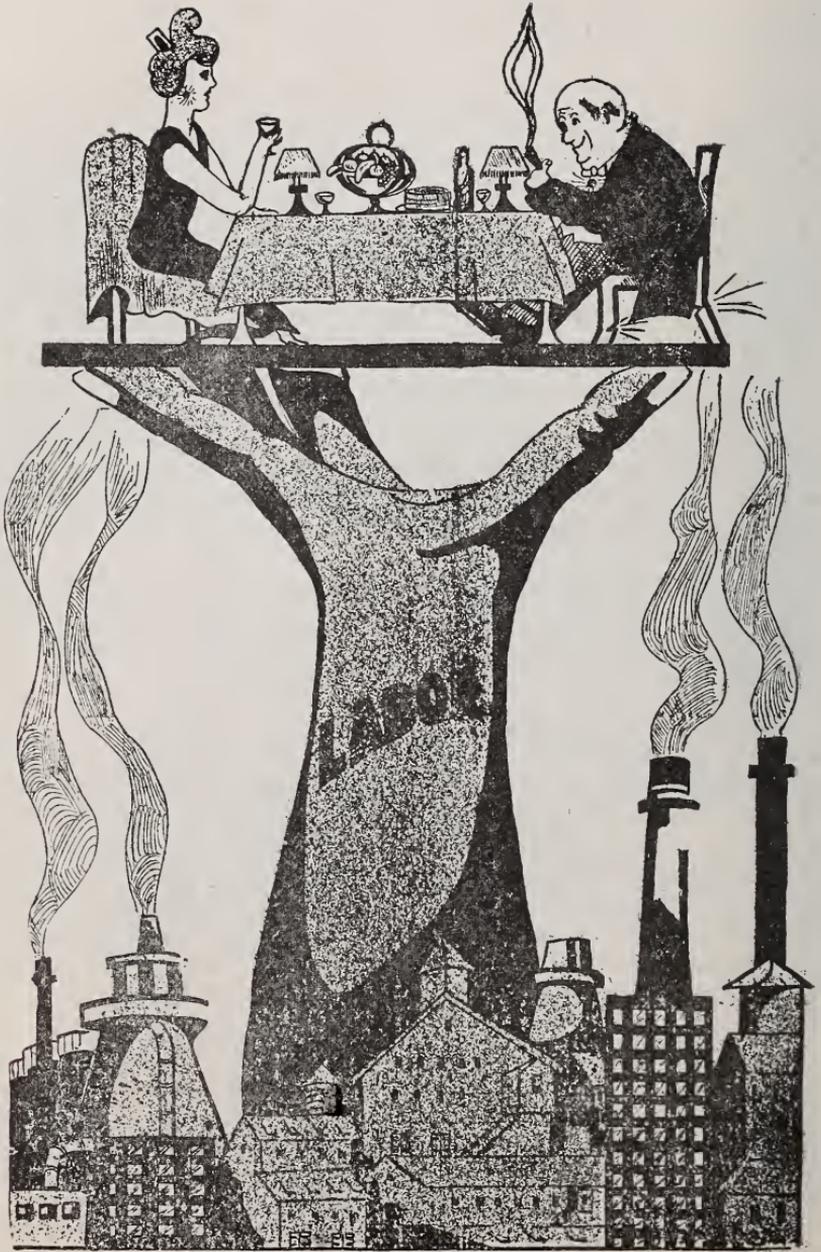
The colored working men and women of the United States must organize in defense of their rights. They must join together in labor unions so as to be able to enforce their demands for an equal share of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." When they are in a position to say to any community, "If you do not stop discrimination against the colored race, we will stop working for you," the hidden forces behind the government will see to it that lynchings cease and discrimination comes to an end. Only by threatening to withdraw their labor power and thereby cripple industry and agriculture can the Negroes secure equal treatment with other workers.

The Workers of Every Race Must Join Together.

The workers of every race and nationality must join in one common group against their one common enemy—the employer—so as to be able to defend themselves and one another. Protection for the working class lies in complete solidarity of the workers, without regard to race, creed, sex or color. . . .

Trade Unions Do Not Want the Negro.

Most American labor organizations, however, shut their doors to the colored worker. The American Federation of Labor excludes



THE HAND OF LABOR SUPPORTS THE WORLD

him from many of its unions. In those to which he is admitted he is treated as an inferior. The Negro has no chance in the old-time trade unions. They do not want him. They admit him only under compulsion and treat him with contempt. Their officials, who discourage strikes for higher wages or shorter hours, are always ready, as in the case of the Switchmen's Union, to permit a strike aimed to prevent the employment of colored men. . . .

. . . The Industrial Workers of the World. The first section of its by-laws provides that "no working man or woman shall be excluded from membership because of creed or color." This principle has been scrupulously lived up to since the organization was founded. In the I. W. W. the colored worker, man or woman, is on an equal footing with every other worker. He has the same voice in determining the policies of the organization, and his interests are protected as zealously as those of any other member. . . .

. . . All the workers in each industry, whatever their particular line of work may be, into One Big Industrial Union. In this way the industrial power of the workers is combined, and, when any of them have a disagreement with their employer, they are backed by the united support of all the workers in that industry. . . .

. . . Do not believe the lies being told about the I. W. W. by the hired agents of the capitalists—the press, preachers and politicians. They are paid to deceive the workers and lead them astray. They are hired to throw dust in their eyes because the master-class does not dare to let them know the truth. . . .

. . . We therefore urge you to join with your fellow workers of every race in the ONE BIG UNION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

[NOTE:—The I. W. W. admits to membership every wage-worker, man or woman, young or old, skilled or unskilled. Its plan of organization includes all workers. No matter what your occupation, if you work for wages, you can get a union card in the I. W. W.]

[The Seattle Star, December 21, 1920.]

A group of government officials dealing in coal through a pool made a profit of about \$675,000, the special Senate investigating committee was told in executive session by George H. Cushing, managing director of the Wholesale Coal Association.

When ?



"Workers of the World Unite!"

THE MESSENGER:—What the poor need is Justice, not Charity. . . . Without the poor to produce the necessities of life for them, the rich would starve. . . . The property owners say to the poor, "Unless you create profits for us, you have no right to live." Because the Negro has begun to refuse to submit to abject slavery, the white exploiter hates him.

THE FORD INTERNATIONAL WEEKLY:—The United States has paid the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad \$30,000,000 for the "rent of its properties" during the time the railroads were under the control of the Government during the war.

PACIFIC COAST METAL TRADES WORKER, Jan. 24, 1920:—While we, as common citizens, were working our best to win the war, the United States Steel Corporation made \$1,300,000,000 net profit.

OREGON LABOR PRESS, Jan. 8, 1916:—There's a whole lot of people waking up to the fact that one of the principal things that is the matter with this country is the banking system.

EDITOR FINDS WAR PROFITS ENORMOUS BY FEDERAL REPORT

By Charles Grant Miller.

[Seattle Union Record, May 31, 1920.]

I do happen to know that our nation's volume of money has been increased in four years from three and a third billions to five and a half billions—but who's got it? Why not the truth . . . Where does the press get all these funk, fictitious excuses for high prices? . . . This dynamic document shows that coal operators' profits in 1917 actually ranged in one instance as high as 7,856 per cent, or 78 times the capitalization. Of the 404 coal companies 185 (nearly half) made profits of 100 per cent and up. The net income of all the 404 companies, having a total capital stock of \$175,000,000, was \$78,000,000, or nearly 45 per cent.

Why is it that the newspapers and press associations so eagerly accept the propaganda of officials and even former officials and fear or at least fail to draw directly upon the official and original sources of information? Has individual journalistic enterprise and initiative been utterly destroyed by the "hand-out"? . . . Why does the press hold back? . . . The effect that every man, woman and child in the United States contributed to all the coal companies in 1917 and shivered through that bitter winter while contributing profits of 45 per cent? Why not print the facts? . . . Coal operators are not alone. Meat packing, according to the senate document, was making profits in 1917 ranging as high as 4,244 per cent; canners of fruits and vegetables, as high as 2,032; woolen mills, 1,770; furniture manufacturers, 3,295; clothing and dry goods stores, 9,826; and—now hold your breath—a steel company with a capital stock of \$5,000 made a net income of \$14,549,925, a net profit of 290,999 per cent. A net profit of 290,999 per cent in one year! Is there not a bigger newspaper story in this than in an obscure haberdasher's buying a few collars at 20 cents and selling at 30? I ask, isn't this the news to which the public is entitled rather than predigested propaganda? Why don't the press associations serve the public interest by wiring far and wide these stupendous facts of profiteering? Now, nobody is asked to take my word for these figures. They are of official record. Go verify them. Call the Washington correspondents away from the free lunch counter of publicity pap and get them busy. These figures are not based on hearsay, or rumor, or gossip, or guess, but are the income tax returns of the companies themselves as officially reported by the secretary of the treasury to the senate. . . . Protection of Profiteers' Newspapers



Members and officers of the Communist Labor Party of California indicted January 2, 1920, for alleged violation of the State Criminal Syndicalism Law. Front row, left to right—J. G. Wieler, John C. Taylor, C. Aylward Tobey, Max Bedacht, Edric B. Smith. Back row, left to right—J. E. Snyder, James H. Dolsen, J. A. Ragsdale.

NOBLE FIGHTERS FOR THE CAUSE OF THE WORKERS



ARTURO GIOVANNITTI

JOSEPH J. ETTOR

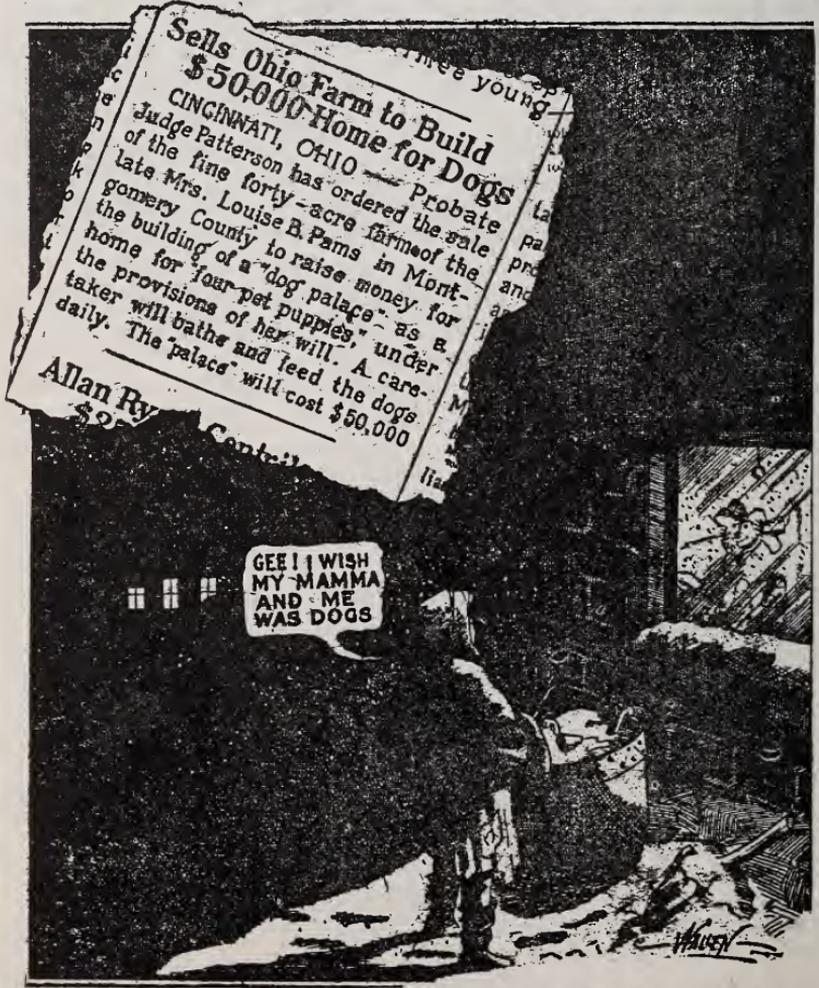
In a prison cell, accused by capitalists' agents of a crime committed by a policeman.

They organized the 25,000 Lawrence textile workers, whose wages averaged less than six dollars a week. The bosses were defeated, the mill workers won.

"Let spies and legal kept men follow their instructions and swear against us, our only 'crime' is Loyalty to the Working Class, and if death is to be the reward, we will give our lives with a song on our lips."

that are so valiantly fighting government ownership of these great grafting corporations, properly so, perhaps—might also valiantly and properly fight the payment of their full value in profits by the people, who, instead of acquiring ownership of them, are owned by them as subjects for continued extortion. Basil Manly did find out by patient comparisons between the United States Steel Corporation's income tax returns and its own published statement of profits that in the years of 1916 and 1917, after all allowances, its net profits amounted to \$888,931,511, which is \$20,000,000 more than the total stock of the corporation. Besides its original \$500,000,000 common stock was nothing but water at that. . . . The Wool in the Suit—what are the facts about profiteering in clothing? . . . The 45 woolen and worsted mills listed in the senate document, one made 1,770 per cent profit in a year. Is it surprising that 17 of them reported net incomes of more than 100 per cent? Is it now incredible that one woolen company, with a capital of \$60,000,000, secretly reported to the treasury a net income of \$28,560,342, while it publicly declares a net profit of only \$13,883,155? Are we not now prepared to believe the official reports that one clothing and dry goods store made a profit in one year of 9,826 per cent—98 times its investment—and that one of every ten throughout the country made more than 100 per cent? How long are the people to be led by the press? . . . There is the packing concern that made 4,244 per cent profit in one year. . . . But Armour & Co. reported for 1917 a net profit of only \$30,628,157, and Swift & Co. only \$34,650,000. . . . These official facts are the rightful property of the people; they are vitally essential to public information; they lead to the very heart of the conditions that are agonizing the nation. Hidden in them lies a large part of the answer to the puzzling question, why the people pay, pay, pay more and more and get continually less and less for their money. . . . War profits created 18,000 new millionaires in this country—is this our glory? One millionaire was made to every three of our boys killed in France—is that our gain? What these thousands profiteer and hoard the millions work and pay—is this our freedom? Is it not a time for a patriotic press to rise in sturdy independence, throw off the shackles of the "hand-out" and present facts?

THE FORD INTERNATIONAL WEEKLY:— . . . One of the favorite arguments of those who believe in the "Wizard" (Charles Ponzi) as the crowds love to call him, is that the banks and bankers have been doing what Ponzi is doing, but have kept the huge profits themselves, while Ponzi shares them with the people. . . .



Sells Ohio Farm to Build
\$50,000 Home for Dogs
CINCINNATI, OHIO — Probate
Judge Patterson has ordered the sale
of the fine forty-acre farm of the
late Mrs. Louise B. Pams in Mont-
gomery County to raise money for
the building of a "dog palace" as a
home for "four-pet puppies" under
the provisions of her will. A care-
taker will bathe and feed the dogs
daily. The "palace" will cost \$50,000

GEE I WISH
MY MAMMA
AND ME
WAS DOGS

(Drawn for The Federationist by Albert Wallen)

[Taken from "Common Sense," Feb., 1920. Published by Wm. H. Coin Harvey, Montene, Arkansas.]

. . . The earth is ready at the touch of industry and intelligence to make a home for each, and every one comfortable. . . . There is something radically wrong in our civilization. What is it? . . . In the organism of a civilization it was found to be necessary and it is necessary to have a medium of exchange, what we call money. . . . Usury means interest. . . .

. . . About 60 years ago the people were forced to become borrowers under obligation to return it with interest. . . . The money lender takes advantage of these necessities. . . .

Elliott in his work on Usury, page 182, says: "One cent loaned January 1, A. D. 1, drawing interest at the rate of 6 per cent, compounded annually, on January 1, 1895, would amount to \$8,487,840,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000, (8,487,480,000 decillion dollars). To pay this in gold, 23.2 grains to the dollar, using it in spheres of pure gold the size of the earth, it would take 610,070,000,000,000,000 spheres of gold to pay the debt." Many illustrations have been given by writers and proof abundant that the profits of money lending are greater than the profits of industry; and it is only a question of time when the moneyed aristocracy is created. . . . The American Bankers' Association, with its controlling spirit in New York City, is today the strongest and most powerful organization in the United States. With its influence reaching down through the thousands of member banks, it wields a power in molding public sentiment to the remotest corner of the nation. . . .

. . . In the minds of many will be the question, How can we get along without banks? What can be substituted to take their place? When we get to that in its proper order the answer will be sufficient and satisfactory. . . . Usury gives the money lenders the possession of the money. The people are forced to go to them and borrow it to keep exchanges moving. . . . A bank with a capital and surplus of \$100,000 can loan \$500,000 and still have its \$100,000.

. . . They are not loaning actual money, they are loaning credit, which is made possible by the deposit and checking system. . . . On five billion dollars of capital and surplus the banks are drawing interest on twenty-five billion dollars. . . .

The people are now in debt to the banking system more than \$25,222,849,814. There are other money-lenders than those engaged in the banking system. Many who are stockholders in the banks also loan money or "shave paper" privately, and there are many others who do strictly a private business at it. Among them are

AMERICA'S FOREMOST LABOR LAWYERS



CLARENCE DARROW



GEO. VANDERVEER



FRANK P. WALSH



CHARLES E. S. WOOD

trust companies for loaning money that are not banks of deposit. Insurance companies loan hundreds of millions of dollars and find it so profitable as to pay losses and show net profits of hundreds of millions of dollars. . . . The pawnbroker, who makes 50 and 100 per cent off of the poor in distress. . . .

. . . Ten thousand dollars kept at compound 6 per cent interest, beginning 100 years ago, is now 3 million 300 thousand dollars. . . .

The money-lenders, one per cent of the people, have amassed a wealth in bonds and notes for an amount equal to one-half the fair value of all the property, real and personal, in the United States; the annual interest on which five billion dollars, with added thereto annually six billion dollars national, state and county taxation, making an annual total of eleven billion dollars, that is gradually confiscating the property of the people. . . .

. . . The money power is in full control at Washington.

. . . Why does not the press publish the constitution of the Farmers' Non-partisan League of the Dakotas?

There is no time to lose! We yet have the . . . semi-free press . . . with the money-lenders holding 80 billion dollars of debts, annually increasing; their created allies, the monopolies of foodstuffs and articles of manufacture, holding the nation in their grip, in the one hand, and the exploited millions of people on the the other hand! . . . Selfishness is not confined to the rich. There are as many narrow and selfish people in proportion to number among the poor and middle classes as among the rich. . . .

To Bankers and Other Money-Lenders: If you have read carefully the reason given, the facts, statistics and authorities cited, it is reasonable to suppose that you now know that you are committing a great wrong toward society. I am personally acquainted with several hundred gentlemen in your business, and believe, from knowing that number, that many of you will come right and help reconstruct civilization with usury eliminated. You are not to blame for doing what you have done; few have known the facts in regard to this subject; it has been regarded as a proper and legitimate business, and it was here when you came into this life. . . .

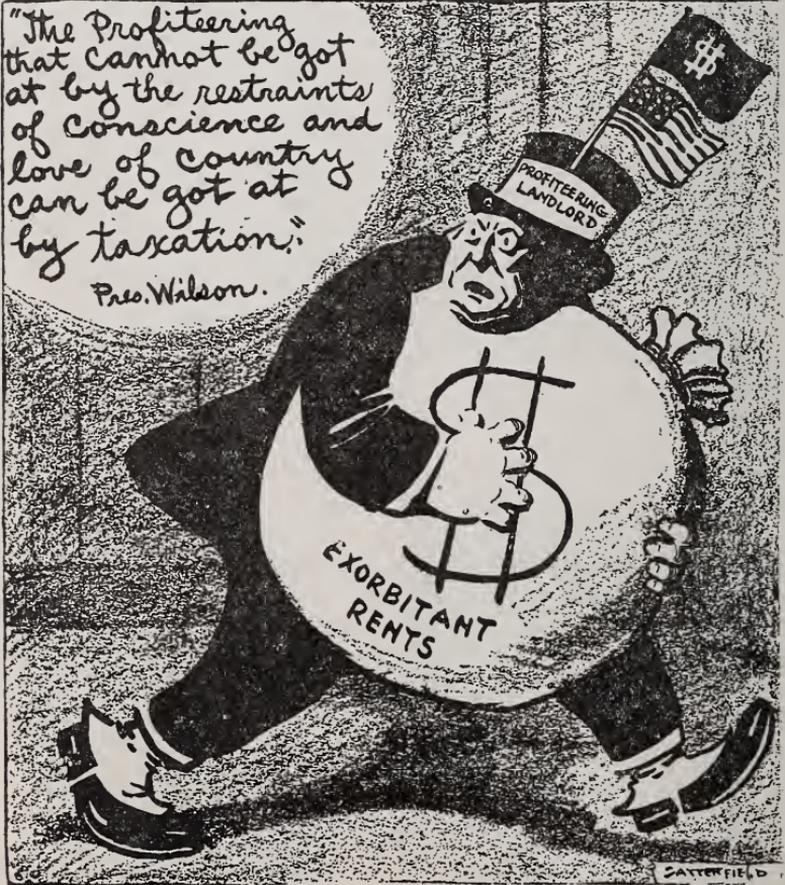
. . . A continuation of the system of money-lending will bring increased suffering, despotism and internal revolution in which you may lose all, including life itself! . . .

. . . To Business Men: With many of you, to make "ends meet" you are busy and do not take time to investigate the cause of unrest. You have not, probably, heretofore investigated this subject. . . .

. . . To Labor Unions: The Money Trust created a condition that forced you to organize. . . .

The Handwriting on the Wall

"The Profiteering
that cannot be got
at by the restraints
of conscience and
love of country
can be got at
by taxation."
Pres. Wilson.



NEGROES A CHANGED PEOPLE

[The Commonwealth.]

The Negro did not run in Chicago nor in Washington and in my judgment he is not going to run anywhere. And the reason is that he has found himself. He knows now that he is a man. That makes the difference. He knows that he has under the Constitution of the United States certain rights declared to be inalienable and that these rights are denied to him. He knows that merely because of the color of his skin he is put at a disadvantage with his fair skinned brother, and he knows that the discrimination is an indefensible wrong. He knows that no matter what may be his character, his attainments, industry, skill or worth, every avenue of advancement is closed to him because of his color. He knows that because of his color he is debarred from making his livelihood by any except the most menial occupations. He knows that he and his children are branded by that one mark of color and consigned by it to the pit of a caste from which there is no escape, and he feels in his heart and knows in his mind that all this is contrary to elemental justice, to the American tradition and to the law of God.

He sees elaborate preparations begun to enforce the Eighteenth Amendments to the Constitution, although that amendment is but a fanatic's dream, and he knows that nobody intends to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the same Constitution, although these embody his sacred rights.

He has looked upon all these things until the iron has entered his soul. He will not run away again. He will stand and fight. He has reached that point where a man would as lief die as continue to live under what he deems intolerable conditions of justice, and when any men reach that state of mind it is but wisdom to heed their protests.

It will be said in some quarters that this stalwart state of mind in the Negroes is the result of agitation among them by pestilent troublemakers; that if the Negro had been left alone as he was at the close of the Civil War he would still be servile and submissive; that foolish agitation has put into his head notions of equality and justice. This is puerile nonsense and gross ignorance. The truth is the Negro has been left quite alone. Hardly one white person in a million has ever manifested the slightest interest in his welfare or wrongs. The whole of his marvelous and unexampled progress in the last fifty years he has achieved himself, not only unaided but in the face of the bitterest prejudice and often an active opposition. Among a people so avid of education and so indomitably

The I.W.W.

IN THE
LUMBER
INDUSTRY



BY
JAMES
ROWAN

RALPH
STANLEY
512 NORTH

bent upon improving their condition some form of revolt was inevitable.

From 1900 to 1910 the Negroes of this country, by their own efforts, reduced the percentage of illiteracy among their people from 49 to 39, and that in the face of the fact that Southern states, where most of the Negroes and most of the illiteracy exist, are frankly organized to prevent Negro education. And it is from this source and none other that the new spirit comes.

The simple fact is that being freed from slavery the Negro was certain to learn to read, that learning to read he was certain to become aware of the stupid and baseless injustice practiced against him, that becoming aware of this and being a man he was certain to resent it.

[From Pearson's Magazine.]

This information is given by a man who had complete power of attorney during the imprisonment of Nikolai Lenine, and spent the last ten years with Mr. Lenine: ". . . Lenine . . . is hardly understood by any living soul . . . Everybody, the great diplomat and multi-millionaire, as well as the menial and fanatic; the most intellectual leaders of parties and of nations, as well as small clerks and adventurers; all recognize in him a Master. Your papers speak of Lenine, 'The Mob Leader,' 'The Bolshevik,' 'The Proletarian,' what nonsense! . . .

". . . Your capitalists here are frightened because they were told Lenine wishes to put everybody to work. . . . The rich today have all the advantages of education, their money buys the refinements of life and, therefore, they become cultured. . . . Lenine said, 'We must labor and work for the proletariat.' '. . . But the proletariats do not and cannot understand us as yet . . . By all means we must give them bread . . . We must try to lift them out of their own sphere. If we don't, they will be unhappy, unable to develop, a menace to us and to the whole world . . . The working man must get the fruits of his labor . . .'

"Lenine does not hate capitalists, millionaires and the great nobles of the Old World. His quarrels are with systems not with persons. He knows the power of money . . . But at present he wishes to fight with the weapons of the enemy . . .

". . . His dressing room shows taste. . . . He rises at 5 o'clock in the morning . . . writes until 8 o'clock. His breakfast consisting

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY
July, 1919.



THE MEXICAN SITUATION

of eggs, coffee and rolls, is brought in with his mail and his telegrams. The balance of the forenoon is devoted to answering his correspondence. . . . He even mails his own letters after they are written. . . . He lunches in the best restaurants and hotels. His guests at lunch are his agents. . . . Once in a while he excuses himself, disappears in a telegraph office and dispatches messages. His mind is certainly working. . . . He always carries several thousand francs in his pockets. . . . He knows a Russian whenever he spies one on the street. He can tell from what part of Russia the man comes.

“. . . I must say here, that we, who were associates of Lenine for years past, considered him a leader long before the world knew him as the Prime Minister of Russia. . . . During the winter of 1916 he gave away about twenty-five overcoats. Walking in the street he would see a Russian shivering in the cold, take off his coat and give it to him. ‘Now don’t pawn it, and don’t sell it. It is a disgrace for a human being to be insufficiently clad . . .’

“. . . Lenine loves pictures. He could hardly trust himself in an artist’s studio when he had much money. . . . He loves books. . . . His English is poor and so is his French. . . . He thought Liebknecht the greatest living German. . . . He loves to go to shows, to hear good music. . . . Lenine believes that all artists and writers ought to be well paid so that they may enjoy life and go on creating beautiful things for their fellow men . . .

“. . . Lenine is one of the most domineering men I have met in my life. . . . He is very careful, always thinking ahead of time. . . . He does not show joy or sorrow. He is always the same. He dismisses his friends usually about midnight and sometimes writes until 2 or 3 o’clock in the morning. He wishes to be alone before he retires. . . . He never speaks about his youth, about the first thirty years of his life. . . . His ambition is to give to the masses a good living first of all. . . .

“. . . I have seen Lenine in the society of the richest and of the greatest nobles of the Old World; he always seemed to be richer than the richest and nobler than the noblest. And they themselves must have felt it, because all bowed before him. He is one of the greatest of men, and today the Master of Europe.”

NEW SOLIDARITY, Oct. 11, 1919:—The mine owners say our goal is their coal, but we deny the coal is theirs. They never put it in the ground, neither do they take it out.



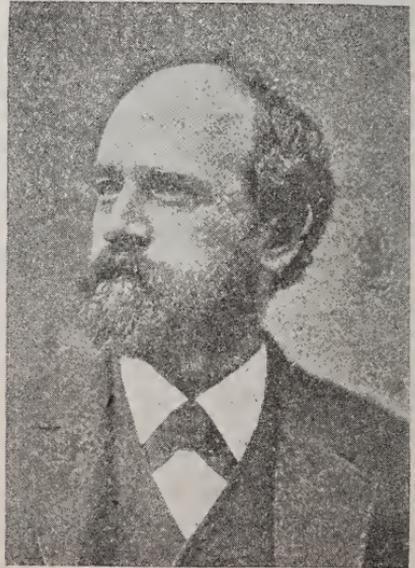
PROUDHON



ROBERT INGERSOLL



KARL MARX



HENRY GEORGE

AN ARTICLE BY NICOLAI LENIN

[The Seattle Daily Times, December 1, 1920.]

By Nicolai Lenin: I see that some of the English Labor Deputies, who recently visited Russia, criticize me for not being sufficiently acquainted with English conditions. As a matter of fact, they struck me as being curiously ignorant of English conditions, themselves. . . . They think the king is impartial, though it is as clear as daylight that he is inextricably allied to the reactionaries. He did not punish those reactionaries who took direct action in Ulster six years ago, but he punished mercilessly those republicans who take direct action today in the south of Ireland. If the miners rebel against the exactions of the lords, King George will shoot them down like dogs.

If the reactionaries bring illegal and extra-parliamentary action to bear upon a labor government, the king will inevitably be with the reactionaries. And undoubtedly such extra-Parliamentary action will be taken by the bourgeois if ever British labor gets a majority in the House of Commons. It has been taken already under high sounding names, and it will be taken again if ever labor dares to pass legislation which is distasteful to the conservatives.

Despite the care with which the biographies and letters of recent English sovereigns have been censored, it is abundantly clear that they are all violently opposed to the proletariat. But British labor leaders do not read these things. . . .

Not but that I am sure the British workers will, in course of time, establish the rule of the proletariat. Following their own unnecessary cautious methods, they will frequently go on strike, the government will always give way, and as the appetite of the worker will be rather whetted than appeased by the sops that are thrown to it, a day will come when the workers will want everything—and will get it.

Unfortunately the proletariat outside Russia does not realize the desperate necessity that exists for swift action on their part.

. . . We have constituted for the first time in history a government of the poor and of the oppressed. We have turned the minds of all the world proletariat toward a new ideal which could never have been so vividly impressed on them by whole libraries of Communist literature. The great French revolution placed the academic theories about the rights of man on a pinnacle from which they can never be displaced. Our Bolshevik revolution has graven for-

DEMOCRACY?

The World



ever on the heart of humanity the words: "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

The workers of the world will never again be the same. They will tend to unite all over the earth; they will grow in strength; they will prevent anything like the great war of 1914 from ever being repeated. The capitalists, the militarists and the kings have now a new force to reckon with. Formerly they declared war without considering the worker at all. They will have to take him very seriously into their calculations during the short time that still remains to them of curtailed and frightened rule. For the proletariat knows that it is expected to die in millions while capitalists, generals and kings yell encouragement to it from some safe retreat in the rear.

That sort of thing is now gone forever. The miner of the Urals has no earthly reason for shooting the miner of Westphalia or the miner of Yorkshire, but every reason to join hands with him. No war lord can ever make the workers fight again. The spell is broken. The chains are smashed.

The French revolution was denounced by reactionary writers in exactly the same languages as the Bolshevik revolution is now being denounced. . . .

English orators weep over the sufferings of the poor Russian capitalist today as their predecessors wept over the sufferings of Marie Antoinette, but who thinks about the queen of France today, and who will think about the capitalist tomorrow except as an extinct beast of prey? The future is with us. We are advancing along the lines laid down by economic laws and by history. The others are lagging behind as Prussia lagged behind France in 1790.

. . . In our gloomiest moments we can always reckon with confidence on some blunder of the Entente. Lloyd George has probably committed as many mistakes as he could possibly commit, and to these mistakes we owe our existence. The incurable stupidity of England and France is the greatest asset of the Russian Communist republic, which was founded by their mad policy of forcing Kerensky to continue the war and take Constantinople at a time when Russia was wearied to death and which was consolidated by their intervention.

I was very much attracted, when a youth, by the noble sentiments of liberty and justice, which I read in French and English newspapers. I said to myself, "The men who write these articles fear nothing. Their sole aim is to succor the helpless, to cham-



WILLIAM GALLACHER



ARTHUR McMANUS



JOHN MACLEAN



DAVID KIRKWOOD

STRIKE LEADERS OF THE CLYDE

pion the poor and to denounce injustice." The speeches of foreign orators made a similar impression on me. When I grew older and traveled abroad, I was soon disillusioned. I discovered that 99 per cent of these orators and writers were on sale to the highest bidder.

[The Seattle Star, December 21, 1920.]

Mr. Vanderlip has procured a 60-year lease on 400,000 square miles in Siberia. Mr. Vanderlip says:

"Russia can go on fighting at their present strength of 4,000,000 men for seven years, or longer, if necessary. . . . British propaganda . . . prevents Americans from learning the true state of affairs in Russia. . . . England fears the rising tide of a great, physical, constructive and intellectual force which may some day rock the British Empire. . . . It was the desire of England and France, foolishly aided by our president, to separate the mighty Russian nation into a dozen quarreling states over which they could exercise domination. . . ."

[Taken from the National Civil Liberties Bureau, which has issued the following statement from its headquarters, 41 Union Square, New York City]:

". . . In the cases cited in the Attorney-General's report as typical of those prosecuted under the Espionage Act there is not one case in which the prisoner was convicted of being a paid German spy, or of even trying to find out military secrets. All the convictions which are reported arose under which the maximum sentence is two years. . . . American citizens exercising (perhaps without discretion) the right of free speech in war time have been sentenced to as high as twenty years in the penitentiary. . . ."

THE CLASS STRUGGLE, Nov., 1919:—American workers, you must realize this and bear it firmly in mind. You must know that every American soldier sailing for Russia goes there to shed the blood of the Russian workers and peasants who are now engaged in a desperate struggle against the capitalists of the world. . . . This slogan has already been adopted by the British, French and Italian workers. In Great Britain, France and in Italy the workers are refusing to load ships with ammunition and provisions destined for the ports of Soviet Russia. The soldiers are refusing to go to the Russian fronts.

THE NEW WORLD WAR!



THE PRINTERS HAVE RECENTLY TOLD YOU THAT THE GREAT WORLD WAR HAS ENDED. DON'T BELIEVE THEM. IT HAS JUST BEGUN!

INGERSOLL ON LIBERTY.

To preserve liberty is the only use for government. There is no other excuse for legislatures, or presidents, or courts; or statutes, or decisions.

Liberty is not only simply a means—it is an end. Take from our history, our literature, our laws, our hearts—that word, and we are naught but molded clay!

Liberty is the one priceless jewel. It includes and holds and is the weal and wealth of life. Liberty is the soil, and light and rain—it is the plant and bud and flower and fruit—and in that sacred word lie all the seeds of Progress, Love and Joy!

Liberty is not a social question. Civil equality is not social equality. We are equal only in rights. No two persons are of equal weight or height. There are no two leaves in all the forests of the earth alike—no two blades of grass—no two grains of sand—no two hairs. No two anythings in the physical world are precisely alike. Neither mental nor physical equality can be created by law, but law recognizes the fact that all men have been clothed with equal rights by Nature, the mother of us all.

The man who hates the black man, because he is black, has the same spirit as he who hates the poor man because he is poor. It is the spirit of caste. The proud useless despises the honest useful. The parasite idleness scorns the great oak of labor on which it feeds, and that lifts it to the light.

I am the inferior of any man whose rights I trample under foot. Men are not superior by reason of the accidents of race or color. They are superior who have the best heart—the best brain. Superiority is born of honesty, of virtue, of charity; and, above all, of the love of Liberty!

The superior man is the providence of the inferior. He is the eyes of the blind, strength of the weak, and shield for the defenseless. He stands erect by bending over the fallen. He rises by lifting others.

SEATTLE UNION RECORD, July 18, 1919:—Hats off to Henry Ford for admitting it! "I was a murderer," he says, "the same as everyone else. I manufactured munitions to kill men!" Yes, Henry did it. He did it for his country. He did it, we assume, because he believed that, under the circumstances, it was the only thing to do. . . . War is murder!

THE EVERETT MASSACRE



Gerlot Rabinowitz Johnson Baran Looney



KILLED WITHOUT WARNING BY THE AMERICAN CAPITALIST CLASS

UNWARRANTED OPTIMISM

[The Butte Daily Bulletin, July 21, 1919.]

Financiers are peculiar in many respects; their reasoning is sometimes difficult to follow.

Let us take, for instance, the optimistic attitude of the financial and industrial lords of these United States:

Having bought nothing but war munitions for the last five years, Europe, they say, must by the ending of the war become an almost inexhaustible market for our raw and manufactured materials.

Our financiers seem to have overlooked the question of payment, although this is generally the first consideration; no one has yet explained how the European peoples, groaning under an enormous tax burden before the war, are to meet the impossible burdens of the gigantic war debts.

Let us take the case of Italy, whose government was supposed to enter the war only to further the cause of world democracy.

One of the five powers, Italy, is bankrupt; her people are starving, yet her financiers and diplomats still cling to the ideas and voice the jargon of the imperialists.

Look at these figures given by Flavio Venanzi, an Italian, writing in *The Nation* of July 12:

	Revenues	Expenses	Deficit
1913-14	2,523,000,000	2,687,000,000	164,000,000
1914-15	2,559,000,000	5,395,000,000	2,836,000,000
1915-16	3,733,000,000	10,625,000,000	6,892,000,000
1916-17	5,345,000,000	17,595,000,000	12,250,000,000
1917-18	7,680,000,000	25,339,000,000	17,659,000,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	21,840,000,000	61,641,000,000	39,801,000,000

This table shows that the total revenue from 1913 to 1918 was 21,840,000,000 lire, whereas if there had been no war it could have amounted only to about 13 billion lire. There is a deficit in those five years of nearly 40 billion lire.

Following the last accurate calculations of Maggiorino Ferraris, one of the most conservative and reliable statisticians of Europe, the debts growing out of the Italian war expenses up to October 31, 1918, were:



**THIS NEW PHOTOGRAPH OF LENIN, STANDING IN THE COURTYARD OF
THE KREMLIN, WAS BROUGHT TO AMERICA BY ISAAC McBRIDE**

War Loan	Lire	
First, Second and Third.....	4,628,000,000	
Fourth	3,986,000,000	
Fifth	6,123,000,000	
		<hr/>
Quinquennial and triennial treasury bonds (5%).....	3,052,000,000	14,737,000,000
Ordinary treasury bonds	9,240,000,000	
Treasury bond and foreign debts.....	13,851,000,000	
Notes issued by the government (not including the Buoni di Cassa for 1 and 2 lire).....	2,046,000,000	
Notes issued by the banks of issue for government account	6,536,000,000	
		<hr/>
Total lire	49,462,000,000	

and calculating an average expense of a billion lire from October 31, 1918, until June 30, 1919, a very low estimate, and three billion lire of extraordinary expenses, the total debt, including the pre-war debts, will climb to these enormous figures:

Old debts to August, 1914, lire.....	13,636,000,000
War debts to October 31, 1918.....	49,462,000,000
From October 31, 1918, to June 30, 1919.....	11,000,000,000
	<hr/>
Total lire	74,098,000,000

The total national wealth of Italy is about 100 billion lire. Her debt is approximately 80 billion lire. Italy is therefore mortgaged for at least three-fourths and probably four-fifths of her national wealth. The Italian people can never pay the interest on this stupendous sum, to say nothing of retiring the principal. The same condition obtains in a greater or less degree in every country in Europe.

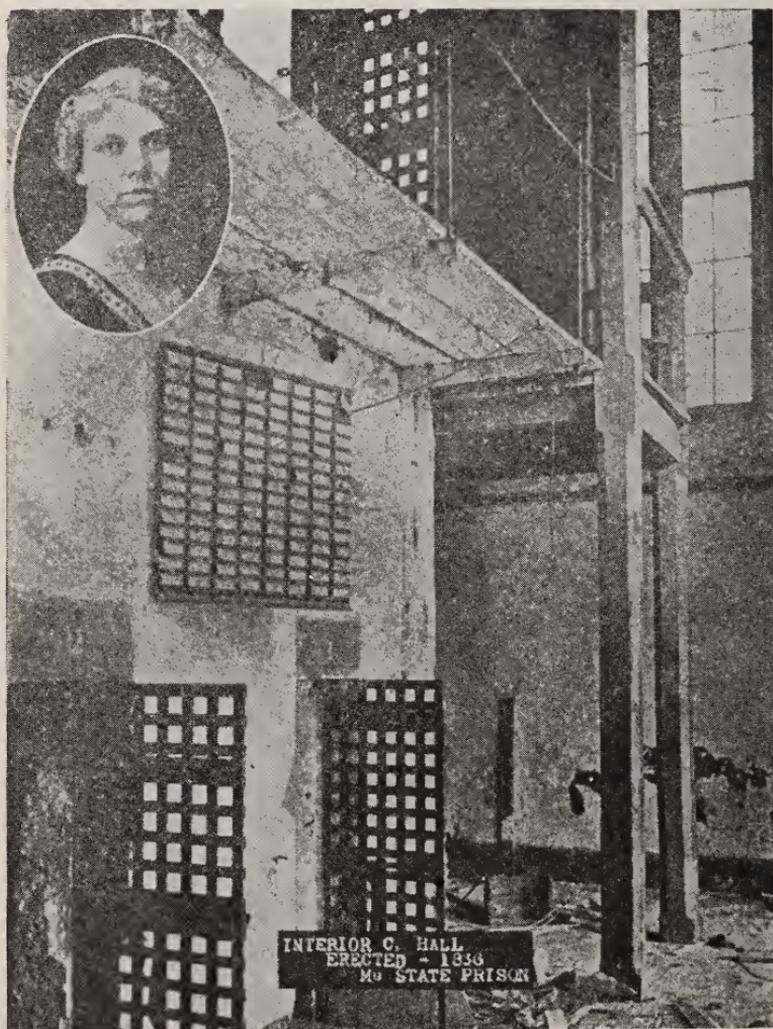
What, then, is the basis for the apparent optimism of the American financiers?

Just this and nothing more:

They are laboring under the delusion that the European workers can be enslaved by force of arms and forced to work for the international banking syndicates.

Impossible as it sounds, it is the only thing on which our financial structure is maintaining itself, and it also is founded on a fallacy.

Let us suppose that the German, Austrian, Russian and Italian workers are forced to labor for a pittance at the point of the bayonet.



Down at the Jefferson City (Missouri) Prison they say the "whipping post" is a thing of the past. There are those, however, who shake their heads. Here is the picture of the whipping posts at the prison where Kate O'Hare served a portion of her sentence of five years. (Kate O'Hare above in insert.)

Laying aside all questions of the impossibility of recruiting the troops willing to act in this capacity, what would be the effect on the American worker?

The commodities produced under these circumstances would, because of their cheapness, displace the products of the American worker. Unemployment would be the inevitable result in this country, and unemployment today means the overthrow of the system that causes it.

Reason from any angle you choose and you come to the same conclusion: that capitalism as the expression of a system of production and distribution has outlived its usefulness. Its collapse is inevitable, and even today it is only maintaining itself by suppression and the horrible brutalities that always accompany the death of a system.

The task of the international working class is to install the new order on the ruins of the old.

THE WORKINGMAN.

[Seattle Union Record.]

He makes everything.
He makes butter and eats oleo.
He makes overcoats and freezes.
He builds palaces and lives in shacks.
He raises the corn and eats the husks.
He builds automobiles and walks home.
He makes kid gloves and wears mittens.
He makes fine tobacco and chews scraps.
He makes fine flour and eats stale bread.
He makes fine clothing and wears shoddy.
He makes good cigars and smokes twofers.
He builds electric light plants and burns oil.
He makes meerschaum pipes and smokes clay.
He makes fine frocks and wears cotton ones.
He makes dress shirts and wears flannel.
He produces fine beef and eats the soup bone.
He makes broadcloth pants and wears overalls.
He makes carriages and pushes a wheelbarrow.
He makes stovepipe hats and wears cheap derbies.

And now we suppose we'll be chided for stirring up "class hatred," but we submit we are not responsible for the conditions and are certainly not to be blamed for attempting to switch things a little.

THERE IS PLENTY FOR ALL.

What, Then, Is the Matter With the World.

The matter is this: The products of Labor, past, present and future, are mortgaged to a score of speculative scoundrels and we are paying interest on millions of mortgages.

We have seen eleven millions of men killed by war. Ruskin proves that war is caused by interest, and the only way of collecting the interest is by more wars—the coil is endless.

Through the murder of these millions, eleven millions of our sisters are robbed of their husbands—those who should have been the fathers of their children—and are compelled to lead unnatural or vicious lives.

Never forget, Mr. Worker: As long as interest exists, the tribute of your toil, to the tune of untold billions, will go over seas to parasites.

For free literature showing how to get rid of the super-scoundrels who make their unhallowed gains by assassinating our brothers and sisters, address Humanity First, Xenia, Clay County, Illinois.

FROM MR. FORD'S PAGE

[The Ford International Weekly, January 15, 1921.]

We are on the very threshold of a new age. The time is coming when everybody will have to take sides. Even those who thus far have never stood for anything in particular will have to stand by something in particular. The days of flabby straddling, pretending that there are no differences or divisions, belong to the old era, and the new era will be ushered in with a new consciousness of allegiance. In the last analysis there are only two families on the earth, and every subdivision which has been made relates to one family or the other. The man who is afraid to line up is not a free man. The times are coming when it will not be within his own choice; he will be forced by the very pressure of circumstances to take his stand by the principles to which he belongs.

[Christian Science Monitor, Boston, June 18, 1919.]

. . . The Industrial Workers of the World and the One Big Union are the same organization. . . .

LINCOLN SAID—
"ALL GOOD THINGS, OF RIGHT
BELONG TO LABOR."



SOLIDARITY
EDUCATION
ORGANIZATION
EMANCIPATION

LABORS GUIDING-
STARS.

By Eugene Bennett



WHAT WAS GOOD
ENOUGH FOR FATHER
IS GOOD ENOUGH
FOR ME

SCISSORBILLS - 3-STARS

FORD TO DISTRIBUTE HUGE BONUS.

Detroit, Mich., Dec. 30, 1920.—The shutdown of the Ford Motor Company will be but a "vacation with salary" for the employees. Checks in the amount of \$7,000,000 are being drawn up. Nearly 70,000 employes will share in the bonus.

[Upton Sinclair, July, 1918.]

It is the glaring shame of our political life that we have enforced conscription of manhood and not dared even to suggest conscription of money. Money is sacred, money is established, money has its way. When the government wants money it has to go to Wall Street and beg. . . .

Billions upon billions of profits are being made out of this war; fortunes beyond telling and beyond belief are being piled up by the insiders of the Coal Trust, the Steel Trust, The Copper Trust, the Oil Trust, the Beef Trust, the Powder Trust. While your son and my son are dying in the trenches, the owners of these gigantic profit machines are making . . . thousands per cent on the investments. . . .

If there is any life left in the radical movement of America, if there is any real care for democracy in the hearts of our people, they will send to Washington during the next few months an overwhelming clamor for the true measure of justice in wartime—conscription of wealth. Let the government take 80 per cent of incomes over five thousand dollars, and 100 per cent of incomes over ten thousand dollars. Why should any man have more than ten thousand dollars while other men cannot get the decencies of life?

Editors of Gale's Magazine, published monthly at Mexico City, D. F., Mexico:—Linn A. E. Gale, Magdalena E. Gale, George D. Coleman, Bertuccio Dantino, Sen Katayama, Robert Page Lincoln, Frederick A. Blossom, Ray Markham, George N. Falconer, Rose Florence Freeman, Keikichi Ishimoto, Andrew Millar, Jim Seymour, Robert Whitaker, "Punch," Sybil Emerson and Robo de Richey (cartoonist).

[The Ford International Weekly, Dec. 25, 1920.]

The United States manufactured \$80,000,000 worth of the \$100,000,000 worth of toys sold in this country.

POPULAR MECHANICS MAGAZINE, JANUARY 1917.



Explosion of an Austrian Shell near the Parapet of an Italian First-Line Trench in the Alps. It will be Noticed That the Soldiers are Crouching Close to the Ground, Seeking Protection from the Raining Fragments of the Bursting Projectile. Their Rifles are in Place along the Upper Part of the Parapet.

THE LIBERATOR MARCH 1918



"That's for us, Bill."

Drawn by Art Young

[John Haynes Holmes.]

It is said that the Allies must interfere in Russia, because the Bolsheviki do not represent the Russian people. Who says that they do not represent the Russian people? Is it America, with her stranglehold on Costa Rica, San Domingo and Nicaragua? Is it France, which has just seized the Saar Valley, with its German population? Is it Japan, which saps the life-blood of Korea, and robs China of the 40,000,000 in the Shantung Peninsula? Or is it, perhaps, England with her 300 years' record of popular government in Ireland? What evidence is there that the Bolsheviki do not represent the Russians? I will stake my life on the fact that they represent more of the Russian people than the czar and the grand dukes ever did—and I have yet to hear that any one of our Western democracies ever proposed to compass their overthrow by intervention! If it is true that the Bolsheviki do not represent the Russian people, then there is one thing, and one thing only, to be done—and that is, to leave the people alone—to leave them free from outside interference.

[Saturday Evening Post, July 5, 1919.]

We have in the United States between a third and a half of all the wealth of the world. We possess more than a third of all the gold; the banks have on deposit more than fifteen billion dollars in money; the circulation per capita is \$56; our production from the ground is about twenty billion dollars annually.

[Detroit Journal, July 24, 1917.]

Ford halted in 150 million peace gift, asserts Italy. Rome, July 24.—America's war declaration intervened to stop a contribution of \$150,000,000 by Henry Ford to Socialists to secure peace, according to the Socialist Deputy Morgari, back from Stockholm today.

. . . Henry Ford was asked to become Senator . . . and the interests spent \$5,000,000 to beat him. But they did not realize what they were up against. . . .

A MONTANA MINING COMPANY, after making \$168,000,000 during the war, cut the men down one dollar a day. Ford, after working for the government during the war without profit, raised his men one dollar a day.

An apology is offered to our readers for our inability to secure better originals for the illustrations of prominent liberals contained herein. Most of the reproductions were made from newspaper cuts.

THE IDEA



FELLOW WORKER:

There's just one idea we want to drive into your brain with this leaflet: **the workers are helpless in their struggle for existence unless they are organized and ORGANIZED THE RIGHT WAY.**

Stop and think that over for a minute; there's a lot more to it than you might imagine—particularly the last part of it.

The Employers Are Organized by Industries, not Trades.

Anyone with brains will admit that the workers must organize, because the bosses are organized in firms, corporations and employers' associations; but the big thing is, for the workers to be sure they organize **on the best plan.** Yours for industrial freedom,

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

CONCENTRATED WEALTH.

[The New York Times prints the following dispatch from Washington, D. C., which requires no comment there]:

Millionaires are growing as fast as weeds in the United States. Already about 20,000 residents of this country have sworn that their incomes during 1919 reached \$50,000 a year. And a man with an income of \$50,000 is classed as a "millionaire," inasmuch as that is the lowest possible return on \$1,000,000.

However, not all of these "millionaires" are actually the possessors of \$1,000,000. Men with incomes of \$50,000 as salaries would come in this classification, and many of these have no large sums in bank. Some, indeed, live on their salaries and have no investments.

But contrasted with these "millionaires" are 2,000,000 persons in the United States whose incomes are \$2,000 or less. The Internal Revenue Bureau estimates that half of the 4,000,000 individuals who have rendered statements come within the \$2,000 class.

There are two men in the country who have incomes above \$3,000,000 annually, twenty-eight incomes above \$2,000,000 and thirteen with incomes of \$1,000,000 and ninety possess incomes of more than \$750,000.

Officials said today that 16,000 men had incomes of \$50,000 to \$750,000. Among the rich men there are 1,271 in the \$50,000 to \$60,000 income class; 901 in the \$60,000 to \$70,000 class; 658 who have \$70,000 to \$80,000; 472 who have \$80,000 to \$90,000; 374 who have \$90,000 to \$100,000; 1,084 who have \$100,000 to \$150,000; 476 who have \$150,000 to \$200,000; 263 who have \$200,000 to \$250,000; 131 who have \$250,000 to \$300,000; 134 who have \$300,000 to \$400,000; 74 who have \$400,000 to \$500,000.

More than 6,000 of the men with incomes of more than \$50,000 live in New York State and about half of these reside in New York City.

THE FORD INTERNATIONAL WEEKLY, Oct. 4, 1919:—The coal is in the ground; the government is in power at Washington. The rest ought to be easy.

OTTAWA, ILL.:—Sheriff C. S. Ayers intends to turn the jail here into a hotel. He says the town's hotels can't accommodate the tourists and there's no need of having a jail.

Cosmopolitan for January 1917



This illustration, which was taken from the "Cosmopolitan," January, 1917, gives an idea of the hard thinking that Mr. Ford must be doing at times in order to devise some way to spend this wave of wealth which is daily flowing in. We are positive that he is doing all that he can to place this income where it will do the most good in general to humanity.

DAILY PLAYING UP OF SHOOTING AND ROBBERIES BLAMED

[By L. B. Mickel, United Press Staff Correspondent.]

Lawrence, Kan., Dec. 28.—The war, newspapers and the movies were blamed today by Dr. William A. McKeever, extension professor of Kansas University, for the wave of juvenile crime sweeping the country.

"The war, dramatized powerfully before the excited minds of the young, the destruction of life and property, and our propaganda made it seem right for the time being," said McKeever, who is also juvenile director for the National Presbyterian Temperance Board.

"The public press and the motion picture have continued the drama, and these two are largely to blame for the wave of juvenile banditry which is sweeping the country. They have been playing up, with the thrilling effects, practically every crime in the catalogue.

"I would censor out of the press every report of crime not absolutely necessary for constructive use, and I would place every motion picture house in America in the hands of a morals court or receivership for 60 days. With that, the crime wave would drop far below pre-war times.

"The thing which most effectively 'nerves' the youth for his crime is the devilish cigarette. I would eliminate that from the earth," McKeever concluded.

[Collier's, January 13, 1912.]

. . . And there is the power of the banker. He must have the confidence of the people to get their money. When they have deposited their money with him, it becomes the basis of credit—about three dollars of credit to one dollar of money. . . .

The intervention of banking produced the greatest tragedy in the history of mercantile man. . . .

Against \$25,000,000 of actual depositors' money, on which it pays interest, the bank sells \$75,000,000 of credit, on which it receives interest. . . .

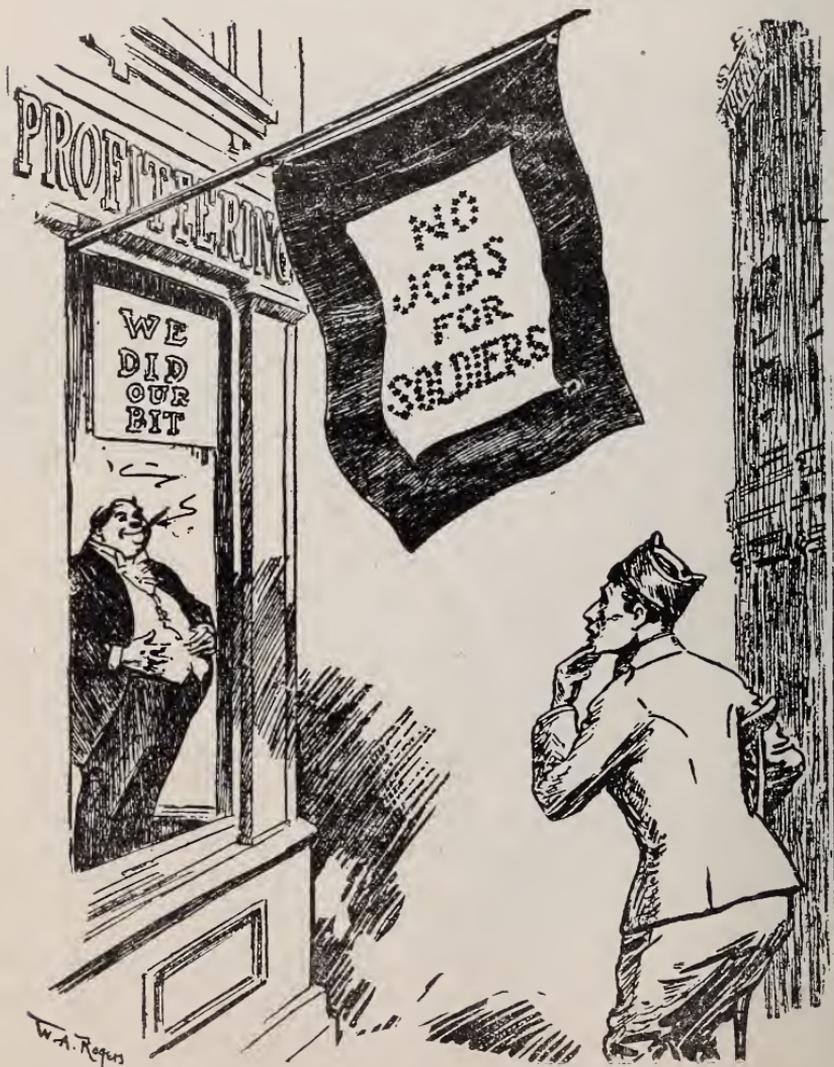
Everybody has to trust the bank. . . .

Bankers bear a lot of watching. . . .

In 1907 . . . small depositors needing cash could not get their own money out. . . .

Haywood refused an offer of several thousand dollars for delivering lectures under the auspices of his capitalist enemies and stayed on a \$4.00 job at the I. W. W. headquarters. He is a man who cannot be bought, sold or traded.—(C. B. Ellis.)

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN



[Congressional Record, February 9, 1917.]

In March, 1915, the J. P. Morgan interests, the steel, shipbuilding and powder interests, and their subsidiary organizations, got together 12 men high up in the newspaper world and employed them to select the most influential newspapers in the United States and sufficient number of them to control generally the policy of the daily press of the United States.

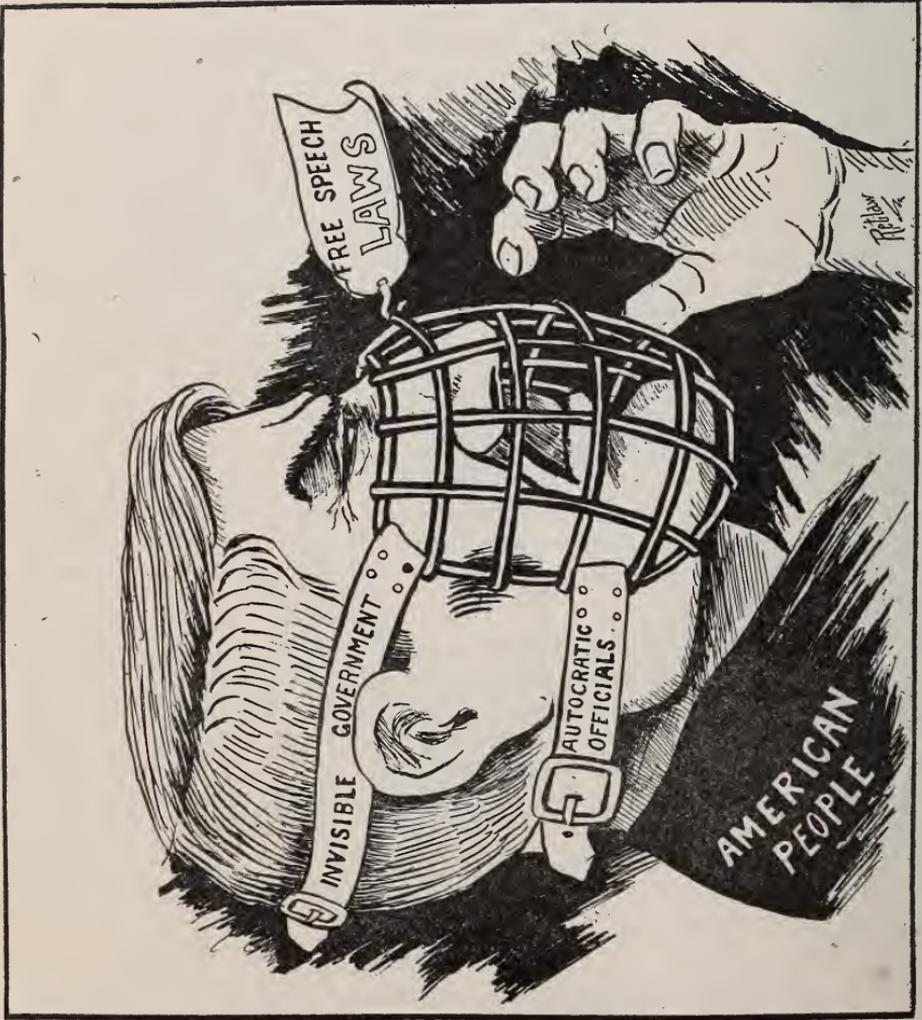
These 12 men worked the problem out by selecting 179 newspapers, and then began, by an elimination process, to retain only those necessary for the purpose of controlling the general policy of the daily press throughout the country. They found it was only necessary to purchase the control of 25 of the greatest papers. The 25 papers were agreed upon; emissaries were sent to purchase the policy, national and international, of these papers; an agreement was reached; the policy of the papers was bought, to be paid for by the month; an editor was furnished for each paper to properly supervise and edit information regarding the questions of preparedness, militarism, financial policies, and other things of national and international nature considered vital to the interests of the purchasers.

This contract is in existence at the present time, and it accounts for the news columns of the daily press of the country being filled with all sorts of preparedness arguments and misrepresentations as to the present condition of the United States Army and Navy, and the possibility and probability of the United States being attacked by foreign foes.

This policy also included the suppression of everything in opposition to the wishes of the interests served. The effectiveness of this scheme has been conclusively demonstrated by the character of stuff carried in the daily press throughout the country since March, 1915. They have resorted to anything necessary to commercialize public sentiment and sandbag the National Congress into making extravagant and wasteful appropriations for the Army and Navy under the false pretense that it was necessary. Their stock argument is that it is "patriotism." They are playing on every prejudice and passion of the American people.

[Michigan Socialist, March 9, 1917.]

Representative Galloway charged on the floor of the House that twenty-five of the leading papers in the United States have been "bought and paid for" by Morgan & Co., to create a public sentiment in favor of war.



THE UNWRITTEN LAW.

[By Nona T. Zeigler.]

Unwritten law, insult supreme to fasten on the minds of men!
The nasty slime of heathen gods brought down to hold us in the dark,
A phantasy of troubled souls, a beast of lust and lewd desire.
Go back to hell, you vile black beast! Back to the pit from whence
you came.

Relic of days when witches burned and cave-men dragged us by the
hair;

Back! Back, I say! You can not rule o'er me. No, I'll choose my
mate.

Nor shall you breed me as the dumb brute led forth by man-made
chains.

The man for whom my blood runs hot up to the house I've helped
to build,

I'll bring and open wide the door, nor all the world nor any power
Shall ever dare to say me nay, or send a bullet through his brain.

The babe that lies upon my breast shall always be the child of love
And not a thing conceived in lust. I claim my body as my own.

You can not fasten chains on me. Go back to hell, you vile black
beast,

For truth and light have set me free.

[From The National Rip-Saw, Girard, Kansas.]

GENE DEBS

By Basil L. Ellis.

Down in a Georgia prison the superman:
"He stirreth up the people"—that old crime
That Christ was crucified for; so the ban
Of the kept press fell on him; foul with slime,
Its perjury made all his words seem crime.
And all the overlords throughout the land
Cried "Treason! Crucify him!" Oh! the times
And manners! Still the money-changers all
Befoul life's temple. Scourges are at hand.
Do they not see the writing on the wall?
Behold the man! His cell is Freedom's shrine;
For Freedom's flame he fed with patient hand.
His words lashed flesh, or stirred the blood like wine.
You who chose Barabbas, behold the man!

Now That We've Won Our War For Democracy



We Are Having Our Democratic Feast of Victory

STANDARD OIL GRABS RICH WYOMING FIELDS.

[By Lawrence Todd, in Federated Press.]

The Standard Oil has annexed the Wyoming oil field, which is the most important in the Rocky Mountain region and is second only to the Texas field in its possible production. Standard, directly and through the Midwest Refining Company and other companies which it controls, has a monopoly—90 per cent—of the crude petroleum produced in Wyoming. So says the Federal Trade Commission, in a special report to Congress.

This report does not deal with the recent handing over of oil lands in Wyoming—worth \$50,000,000—by Attorney-General Palmer to Standard Oil and Midwest Oil. That is another story, which involves the compromise by Palmer to Standard's advantage of suits by the Government which if won would have saved these priceless holdings to the nation. It involves Standard Oil's representative in Washington, who was Palmer's roommate in college. But with that story the Federal Trade Commission was not officially concerned.

Complaint made to the commission charged that Standard Oil and its subsidiary companies were obstructing fair competition in the Wyoming field. The commission reports that "It soon became evident that there were monopolistic conditions in the production, pipeline transportation, refining, and wholesale marketing of crude petroleum and its products throughout the entire Rocky Mountain section."

[Appeal to Reason, February 20, 1915.]

The deposits in the postal savings bank greatly increased the past year. They now total about \$60,000,000. As it is now, this money is turned into private banks for them to use. If the government used it in employing the idle, as it has every right to do, it could retain \$10,000,000, sufficient to secure the deposits, and have \$50,000,000 with which to do necessary work and make jobs for workers. Besides, if it was found that the money was being used in this way, the postal deposits would double in a month, and the hard times would be at an end. The government can become master of the situation and end distress at any moment it wishes.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, March, 1917:—Ford and Suhr are now held within the walls of American bastiles because they took risks for the working class. Without these and their kind, how far would the working class get? Without this element of rebels who give all they have and never count the cost, what would the working class be?

The Nonpartisan Leader

DECEMBER 27, 1920
OLIVER S. MORRIS, Editor

WHO IS CARRIED?



"Does the banker 'carry' the farmer, as he claims, or does the farmer 'carry' the banker?" Congressman John M. Baer asks in submitting this cartoon. What do farmers think about it?

ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM EXPLAINED

In reading various radical papers one feature which seems to me rather deplorable and inquisitorial is that while many popular misconceptions relative to Socialism and Industrial Unionism are being exploded, when Anarchism is concerned, even well-intentioned rebels will unwittingly align themselves with the vile press and retainers of wealth to convey the most flagrant misrepresentations of a theory or conduct of life which is entertained and promulgated by many class-conscious workers the world over, and by scores of thinkers and scientists of our present day.

To brand Anarchism as equivalent to disorder, chaos and bloodshed; to accuse its adherents of being mere fiends incarnate who disport themselves by devouring a pope for breakfast, of sipping the succulent blue blood of kings and potentates for lunch, and gorging themselves over a barbecue of bloated capitalists for dinner, is to display a sample of gross ignorance and prejudice which is inexcusable in our age of enlightenment.

In order to dispel these prevailing misconceptions, I submit the following explanation of what Anarchism really is, and what place it claims in the science of social evolution.

WHAT IT MEANS.

Anarchism is the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government—harmony in such a society being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between various associations or groups, territorial, industrial, professional, for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being. In a society developed on these lines, the voluntary associations which already are beginning to cover all fields of human activity would take a still greater extension so as to substitute themselves for the state in all its functions. They would represent an interwoven network, com-

posed of an infinite variety of groups and federations of all sizes and degrees, local, regional, national and international—temporary or more or less permanent—for all possible purposes: production, consumption and exchange, communications, sanitary arrangements, education, mutual protection, defense of territory, and so on; and on the other hand, for the satisfaction of an ever-increasing number of scientific, artistic, literary, and sociable needs. Moreover, such a society would represent nothing immutable. On the contrary—as is seen in organic life at large—harmony would result from an ever-changing adjustment and readjustment of equilibrium between the multitude of forces and influences, and thus adjustment would be easier to obtain, as none of the forces would enjoy a special protection from the state.

DEVELOPMENT OF MAN.

If society were organized on these principles man would not be limited in the free exercise of his will by a fear of punishment, or by obedience towards individuals or metaphysical entities, which both lead to depression of initiative and servility of mind. He would be guided in his actions by his own understanding, which necessarily would bear the impression of a free action and reaction between his own self and ethical conceptions of his surroundings. Man would thus be enabled to obtain a full development of all his faculties, intellectual, artistic and moral, without being hampered by overwork for the monopolists, or by the servility and inertia of mind of the great number. He would thus be able to reach full individualization, which is not possible either under the present system of individualism or under any system of state rule.

ANARCHISM NOT UTOPIA.

The Anarchists consider, moreover, that their conception is not a Utopia. It is derived from an analysis of tendencies that are at work already, even though other political systems may find tempo-



WM. SHORT



ALEXANDER BERKMAN



DR. PAINLESS PARKER
At the head of the Largest Dental Institu-
tion of the World.



OLIVER ERICKSON

rary favor with the reformers. The progress of modern technics, which wonderfully simplifies production of all the necessities of life; the growing spirit of independence of the workers, and the rapid spread of free initiative and free understanding in all branches of human activity—including those which formerly were considered as the proper attribute of church and state—are already reinforcing the no-government tendency.

ECONOMIC PHASE OF ANARCHISM.

As to their economic conceptions, the Anarchists, in common with all Socialists and I. W. W.s, of whom they constitute the left wing, maintain that the now prevailing system of private ownership in land, and our capitalistic production for the sake of profits, represent a monopoly which runs against both the principles of equality and the dictates of utility. They are the main obstacles which prevent the success of modern technics from being brought into the service of all, so as to produce general well-being. The Anarchists consider the wage system and capitalist production altogether as an obstacle to progress. But they point out also that the state was, and continues to be, the chief instrument for permitting the few to monopolize the land, and the capitalists to appropriate for themselves a quite disproportionate share of the accumulated surplus of production. Consequently, while combating private ownership in general, they combat with the same energy the state as the main support of that system, not this or that special form, but the state altogether, whether it be a monarchy or even a republic governed by means of referendum.

THE STATE AND ITS FUNCTIONS.

The state organization, having always been, both in ancient and modern history, the instrument for establishing monopolies in favor of ruling minorities, cannot

be made to work for the destruction of these monopolies. The Anarchists consider, therefore, that to hand over to the state all the main sources of economic life and the management of all the main branches of industry, in addition to all the functions already accumulated in its hands, would mean to create a new instrument of tyranny. State capitalism would only increase the powers of bureaucracy and capitalism. True progress lies in the direction of decentralization, both territorial and functional, in the development of the spirit of local and personal initiative, and of free federation from simple to compound, instead of the present rule from above applied to those below.

In common with most Socialists and I. W. W.s, the Anarchists recognize that, like all evolution in nature, the slow evolution of society is followed from time to time by periods of accelerated evolution which are called revolutions, and they think that the era of revolutions has only begun. Periods of rapid changes will follow the periods of slow evolution, and these periods must be taken advantage of—not for increasing and widening the powers of the state, but for reducing them through the organization of a class-conscious working class.

ANARCHIST TACTICS.

In virtue of the above principles the Anarchists refuse to be a party to the present state organization and to support it by infusing fresh blood into it. They do not seek to constitute political parties. Accordingly, since the foundation of the International Workingmen's Association in 1864 they have endeavored to promote their ideas directly among the working class and induce it to a direct struggle against capital and its institutions without placing faith in legislative means.—[Iride Dumont, in "The Industrial Worker.]

THE BUREAU OF INFORMATION recommends to its readers the book "New Era Economics," presenting a rational theory of values, by John Frederick Brown, B. S., 529 East New York Street, Indianapolis, Ind., selling for 50c paper bound, \$1.00 cloth bound.

The CENTRALIA CONSPIRACY



BY RALPH
CHAPLIN
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What Happened In Centralia?

The newspapers said that unoffending paraders were killed without provocation or excuse by ambushed I. W. W.s.

DO YOU BELIEVE IT?

Papers telling the truth about the tragedy were shut down or denied the use of the mails. Only the Lumber Trust version was permitted to reach the public.

DO YOU WANT TO HEAR THE OTHER SIDE?

Every effort was made to spread broadcast the lie and suppress the truth.

ARE YOU WILLING TO HEAR THE TRUTH—EVEN IF IT HURTS?

"The Centralia Conspiracy," by Ralph Chaplin, 80 pages; 44 half-tones of actual scenes. Price 50 cents. Get a copy at any progressive bookstore, or order by mail from the following places: The Liberator, 138 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y.; Geo. Williams, Box 1873, Seattle, Wash.; Geo. Hardy, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

HAVE YOU READ "A FAIR LABOR TRIAL?"

A record of the prejudice and passion that dominated the legal profession and the press in the famous Centralia Labor Case, tried at Montesano, Washington, January 26 to March 15, 1920.—By Frank Walkin, of the Seattle Union Record. Price 10 cents. Send orders to George Hardy, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

[Taken from a Wall Street Paper.]

The United States has only 6 per cent of the world's population, yet we produce as follows: Twenty-five per cent of the world's supply of wheat, 40 per cent of the world's supply of iron and steel, 52 per cent of the world's supply of coal, 75 per cent of the world's supply of corn, 85 per cent of the world's supply of automobiles, 60 per cent of the world's supply of cotton, 66 per cent of the world's supply of oil. We also refine 80 per cent of the world's supply of copper and operate 40 per cent of the world's railroads.

Five men control nearly 70 per cent of the interstate business in the principal lines of the meat-packing industry.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE I. W. W.

By HAROLD CALLENDER



THIS GROUP OF WELL-KNOWN WESTERN I. W. W. MEN WERE BROUGHT TO CHICAGO HAND-CUFFED AND LEG-IRONED.

**Back Row—J. P. Thompson, George Hardy, John Foss, Walter Smith.
Front Row—J. A. McDonald, Harry Lloyd, T. J. Doran.**

According to the newspapers, the I. W. W. is engaged in treason and terrorism. The organization is supposed to have caused every forest fire in the West—where, by the way, there have been fewer forest fires this season than ever before. Driving spikes in lumber before it is sent to the sawmill, pinching the fruit in orchards so that it will spoil, crippling the copper, lumber and shipbuilding industries out of spite against the government, are commonly repeated charges against them. It is supposed to be for this reason that the states are being urged to pass stringent laws making their activities and propaganda impossible.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: Harold Callender investigated the Bisbee deportations for the National Labor Defense Council. He did it in so judicial and poised and truth-telling a manner that we engaged him to go and find out for us the truth about the I. W. W., and all the other things that are called "I. W. W."—The Masses.]



G. BERNARD SHAW



ZINOVIEFF



BEN REITMAN



LOUISE MICHEL



CO-OPERATIVE EFFORT WILL BRING RESULTS.
The One Big Union Monthly, January, 1921.



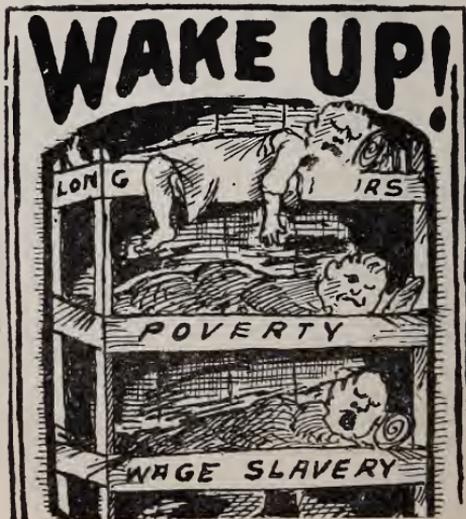
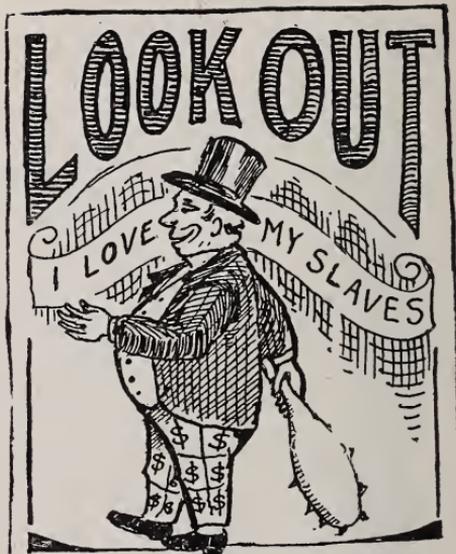
BOB BRIDGES



JUDGE J. T. RONALD



JOHN PANCNER



CAUSE OF POVERTY.

The masses are poor, ignorant and disorganized, not knowing the rights of mankind on the earth, and never knowing that the world belongs to its living population, because a small class in every country has taken possession of property and government, and makes laws for its own safety and the security of its plunder, educating the masses, generation after generation, into the belief that this condition is the natural order and the law of God.

By long training and submission the people everywhere have come to regard the assumption of their rulers and owners as the law of right and common sense, and their own blind instincts, which tell them that all men ought to have a plenteous living on this rich earth, as the promptings of evil and disorder.

The qualities we naturally dislike and fear in a man are those which insure success under our present social order, namely, shrewdness, hardness, adroitness, selfishness, the mind to take advantage of necessity, the will to trample on the weak in the canting name of progress and civilization.

The qualities we love in a man send him to the poor-house—generosity, truth, truthfulness, friendliness, unselfishness, the desire to help, the mind to refuse profit from a neighbor's loss or weakness, the defense of the weak.

Our present civilization is organized injustice and intellectual barbarism. Our progress is a march to a precipice.—(John Boyle O'Reilly, in *The Printing Worker*, Seattle.)

NO VIOLENCE IS DOCTRINE.

Violence is a confession of weakness; that is why industrial unionists do not believe in force and why direct action does not involve violence. The reason why the I. W. W. advocates direct action is primarily due to the inability of righting any wrongs through political action; and secondly, by keeping politics out of the union they are preventing disruption among the members. We do not prohibit any member from voting. Direct action on the job does not imply violence in any sense. It means that when workers have a grievance they appoint a committee to deal directly with the boss, without enlisting the services of federal, state, county or city authorities who cannot have any sympathy with the aspirations of labor.—(Ralph S. Pierce.)

Labor has only one way to get jobs and that is to own the job. The class struggle is more acute every day and the capitalists are organized in one big union, while the working forces are still divided.—(John Foss.)

—From speeches made at Crystal Pool, Seattle.

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INGERSOLL'S VISION OF THE FUTURE

[The Crucible, Dec. 14, 1919.]

"A vision of the future arises. I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth. I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the secret subtle powers of the earth and air are tireless toilers for the human race. I see a world at peace, adorned with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of love and truth; a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world where labor reaps its full reward, where work and worth go hand in hand, where the poor girl, trying to win bread with a needle—the needle that has been called "the asp for the breast of the poor"—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or shame. I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony stare, the piteous wail of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn. I see a race without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair, married harmony of form and function, and as I look, life strengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all in the great dome shines the eternal star of human hope."

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A CAPITALIST CONFESSES

[By Rudolph Spreckels, Millionaire President of the
First National Bank of California.]

Congress is continually asked to protect capital and its methods of high finance. Protection and opportunity to continue earnings upon their water securities while human beings starve are demanded by men who know not hunger or want. Let not the spark of human kindness die in America. We must not tolerate a continuation of commercial greed and the placing of dollars above human rights and needs.

Europe is demonstrating today the inevitable result which the policy of commercial greed leads to. The toll in money and in human life now being paid at the altar of governmental submission to the demands of capitalism should be a warning that no intelligent American can afford to ignore.

My writings may shock the members of my so-called class, but my belief in them is still sufficiently strong to warrant me in hoping that if they will but take a step outside the blinding influences of their selfish environment a new light will dawn upon them, and then there will be hope that the United States of America may go forward and for ever live in accord with the intention, purpose and mandate of this nation's founders.